THE

CHRISTIAN REFORMER.

No. CXXIX.] SEPTEMBER, 1855. [Vol. XI.

BUNSEN'S PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.*

These volumes are the third and fourth of the seven into which Dr. Bunsen has expanded the original edition of his Hippolytus, and in our estimation are by far the most valuable part of his labours. We are still unable to deduce from that portion of it which relates to Religion, any clear idea of the author's religious opinions. He is not a Puseyite, not an Evangelical, not a Trinitarian in any recognized sense of that word; he believes himself not to be a Unitarian; but we are entirely baffled when we go beyond negations and endeavour to state his creed in affirmative terms. This, we confess, greatly lessens to us the interest of his theological writings; but that part of his work which relates to the history and philosophy of language is of great value, and supplies a deficiency in our own literature.

The earliest historical records, and even traditions, shew us a world already peopled, and nations organized in civil communities. But there evidently lies beyond this commencement of history, a period of uncertain extent, during which population had established and diffused itself in the countries where history begins and where civilization made its first steps. The ancient heathen notion, that men sprung from the soil which they occupied, was first rejected on religious grounds; but historical inquiry and the philosophical study and comparison of languages confirmed the rejection. This comparison, however, is of very modern origin. The logical analysis of their own language had exercised the subtilty of the Greeks; but the rest of the world were to them barbarians, uncouthly-speaking men; and to collect their grammars and vocabularies, in order to trace their affinities among themselves, or their relation to their neighbours, was an idea which never entered the Grecian mind. We read of Mithridates speaking twenty-five different languages, and transacting business, without an interpreter, with the natives of his multifarious kingdoms; but there was no Sir William Jones or Cardinal Mezzofanti among the ancient philologers. Fortu-

* Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History, applied to Language and Religion. By Christian Charles Josias Bunsen, D.D., D.C.S., D.Ph. In Two Volumes. 8vo. London. 1854. [We recommend this triple Doctorate, in which "there are not three Doctors, but one Doctor," to the advocates of the Trinity, as a substitute for some of their worn-out illustrations.]

nately there was no such line of demarcation in Christian Europe as that which separated Greek or Roman and Barbarian in the ancient world. From the revival of letters, a knowledge of the oriental languages as well as the classical was necessary to the character of a scholar. European literature was at first confined to the Romance languages, formed from the ruins of the Latin; but by degrees, as other parts of Europe emerged from obscurity, attention was drawn to the Teutonic and Slavonic, spoken by so many millions of people, and the Celtic, which still lived in the countries where a Romance or Teutonic language had superseded it in ordinary use.

The earliest inquirers were misled by the idea that the Hebrew, being the language of Adam and Noah, must be the root of all others, though the history of Babel might rather have led to the conclusion, that the connection with this root had been entirely cut off. Leibnitz was the first who promulgated sound ideas respecting the comparison of languages and the inferences to be drawn from it as to the affinity of nations; and in laying the foundation of the Academy of Sciences at Berlin, it was a leading object with him to secure attention to this inquiry. Since his time it has been pursued with great ardour by his countrymen. England's extended commerce, and especially her relations with the East, might have been expected to excite a great interest among us for this study, and valuable materials have certainly been furnished by our oriental scholars. But the philosophical study of language requires more than an accumulation of vocabularies; it must be accompanied and guided by an insight into the laws of human thought and the organism of speech; and in both these respects the speculative German has been greatly in advance of the practical Englishman. Dr. Bunsen mentions John (James) Harris as an Englishman who laid the foundation of grammatical philosophy; but we think he cannot be very well acquainted with his Hermes, which, though it professes to be a Philosophical Inquiry concerning Language and Universal Grammar, is founded too exclusively on the Greek and Latin languages to serve as the basis of comparative philology. His caustic critic, Horne Tooke, made a great advance towards the philosophy of universal grammar, by shewing that the particles which had been considered as arbitrary and conventional devices were really significant. Moor, of Glasgow, and his disciple and successor, Young, extended this principle to grammatical inflexions, and thus a light was thrown on the formation of language which has since spread itself on all sides. Frederic Schlegel availed himself of the principle thus established in regard to the origin of inflexions, to determine questions respecting priority in the derivation of languages. For as the inflexions are portions of words once existing in the language, subsequently applied systematically and conventionally for de-

clension and conjugation, it is evident that they belong to a very early stage of its development, and therefore correspondence in inflexion is a sign of an earlier affinity between two different languages than correspondence in roots. Another most important step towards establishing etymology upon a sound basis was made by Jacob Grimm. The great difficulty in tracing words to their origin is, that we are apt to be imposed on by a superficial resemblance on the one hand, and on the other to overlook a real derivation for want of an obvious resemblance. We want a criterion by which to ascertain whether similarity in form between two words proves an actual affinity between them, and to detect that affinity under outward dissimilarity. To obtain this criterion, two things are necessary. We should see not only the beginning and the end of the series of changes, but the intermediate steps, which often afford proof of an identity, which it would be thought extravagant to maintain, if we could only see the two extremes. We should also be able to establish some law of analogy for the changes which words undergo, so that if the intermediate steps have been lost, we may have some rational ground for conjecturing by what process the extremes have been connected with each other. Grimm enjoyed a great advantage in establishing for an important family of languages, the Teutonic, the first of these criteria. It is possible to trace the history of the German language, by written documents, from the Gothic of Ulfilas in the fourth century to the most recent times, and thus to ascertain historically the progress of its transformation. By observing these, combined with those of the kindred languages, as Icelandic, Saxon, Frisian, and by careful study of the organic laws of speech, he has been enabled to classify the changes which language necessarily undergoes, and approximately to lay down their laws. Thus etymology is no longer guess-work, as it was in former days, but acquires the character of a science, and takes its place as an auxiliary and supplement to history. Grimm's principles (which had been partially anticipated by an eminent Danish writer, Rask) have since been carried out with great success by others, chiefly Germans. It is by their application to our own language that Dr. Latham has overthrown the long-established dominion of Lindley Murray in English grammar. Bopp has shewn the affinity of the Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, old Slavonic, Gothic and German. Prichard, followed by Meyer, has proved that the Cymric and Celtic have a relationship, though somewhat more remote, to the same family of languages. Similar affinities have been ascertained to exist between the Hungarian, the Finnic, the Lapponic and the Esthonian, spoken by people in a low degree of civilization, the representatives, probably, of those whom the Greeks called Scythians, and the Persian poets, Turanians,—the nomadic tribes who from time immemorial have

hovered on the frontiers of civilized countries, and rushed in wherever they found an opening. The close affinity of the Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic, Syriac, Phœnician and Ethiopic, or what is called the Semitic family of languages, is so obvious, that it has been recognized ever since the revival of philology.

No doubt or uncertainty attaches to the grouping of the three families of languages which we have now enumerated, or to the inference that an historical connection must have existed among the nations whose speech bears such strong traces of a family likeness. A natural curiosity, however, impels us to ascend higher, and try whether we cannot trace even these divergent streams to a common origin. We cannot resist the conclusion that there was a time when the progenitors of the various tribes who speak a Teutonic or Semitic dialect, dwelt together in patriarchal unity, conversing in that single tongue from which the various dialects have sprung. The difficulty of establishing identity of stock of course increases with the remoteness of the point of ramification, and at first sight we might regard it as a hopeless undertaking to find evidence that there was a common speech, spoken in some undefinable age of the world, of which all the Teutonic and all the Semitic dialects are themselves only branches. Could this be established, the mind would not be satisfied without endeavouring to attain a higher unity in a still more remote period of the existence of the human race. There is the language of Egypt, by far the most ancient of any that has been preserved to us by written or monumental records, which at its first aspect resembles neither Teutonic nor Semitic, nor the supposed common parent of both; can a deeper analysis shew that even here proofs of identity of origin exist? There is the Chinese language, spoken by a people who, if they do not equal the subjects of Menes in antiquity, stand in the next degree to them,—a language apparently unique in its character, monosyllabic, using a single word as the representative of a whole sentence, distinguishing the substantive, adjective and verb only by position and accent, having no such thing as inflexion and conjugation;—can this also, notwithstanding the utterly abnormal aspect which it wears, be made to appear a branch from the same stem as the others, or perhaps the very root from which they have all sprung? In short, may we believe that on some spot of the earth's surface, though not in the plain of Shinar—in some year of the world, though not in the days of Peleg, 2247 B.C.—the whole human race was "of one language and of one speech"?

Dr. Bunsen answers this question with a decided affirmative, and the philological portion of these two volumes is occupied with the proofs of his opinion. For the detail of these he calls to his aid some of the most eminent linguists among his countrymen,—Dr. Aufrecht, to report the last results of the researches

into the Teutonic languages and those of Italy before the rise of the Romans; Dr. Max Müller, to make a similar report respecting the researches into the Persian, the Turanian and Indian languages. Dr. Meyer is the reporter on the Celtic family, and Bunsen himself on the Semitic and its relation to the Egyptian on the one side and the Assyrian on the other. He also introduces each topic and sums up the evidence. Presuming our readers to be interested in this subject, chiefly from its connection with biblical history and criticism, we shall confine ourselves to those portions of his work which bear on these points. The whole, however, is very valuable to the student of ethnology, as a supplement to the linguistic portion of Prichard's Researches into the Physical History of Mankind.

Our author strenuously maintains the unity of the human species, which he thinks stands in some necessary connection with the original unity of human language. Now we believe there never would have been any question respecting the unity of the human species (except among slave-traders and slave-owners), if the word *species* had not been used in a narrow and technical meaning. Surely, in the view of common sense, creatures of the same form, organs and structure, subject to the same physiological and pathological laws, possessing the same faculties of reason and conscience, freely uniting with each other and becoming parents of a self-perpetuating race, must be reckoned to belong to the same species, even though blue, pink and green should be added to the varieties of colour which already prevail among them. But if unity is to be denied on the one hand, till it can be historically proved that these varieties have been superinduced and are not original, or, on the other, till it can be historically proved that the human race has had a common parentage in a single pair, the question can never be settled, because the test demanded not only is now, but must for ever be, unattainable. Dr. Bunsen appears to carry his notion of unity so far as to believe that there was a time when the language which is the parent of all languages was invented by an individual. "The millions of people," says his reporter, Dr. Max Müller, apparently with his approbation, "who speak and have spoken for centuries, from Ceylon to Iceland, the innumerable dialects of Sanskrit, Persian, Gallic, Teutonic, Slavonic, Italic and Greek, shrink together into one small point and are represented, as it were, by one patriarchal individual, the first Arian, the ancestor of the Arian race. For on all these languages there is a stamp of individuality, inexplicable if viewed as a product of nature, and intelligible only as the work of one creative genius."* We must confess that we could more readily conceive of a single individual inventing piquet or battledore and

* Vol. I. p. 474.

shuttlecock than inventing language. It is essentially a social instrument. Quintilian says that there would have been no such thing as eloquence, "si cum singulis loqueremur;" we feel equally certain that there would have been no such thing as language, if there had not been some person to converse with. Assuredly it did not begin with one who was practising soliloquy, or, like Medea's nurse, venting his feelings to earth and heaven. Dr. Max Müller's own illustration shews how unnecessary it is to suppose a patriarchal individual, sitting down, somewhere in the latitude of Samarcand, to create by his genius that primitive Arian language of which English and Sanskrit are alike the progeny. For he continues, "All these are simply continuations of one common spring of language, as much as Spanish and Portuguese, French and Provençal, Italian and Wallachian, are all but Latin under different aspects." But the Latin language was not the production of some individual genius, dwelling on the Alban Mount, as we must have supposed it to be, according to Dr. Müller's reasoning, had we no historical knowledge of its origin. In its earliest known state, it was already the language of a nation. The truth is, that language, like history and the structure of the globe, exhibits *metamorphosis*, not creation. Strata are formed from the detritus of other strata; kingdoms from the fragments of empires; languages from the decay of other languages. In all these cases we must suppose a beginning somewhere; but we can never reach it by history, and certainly have not yet reached it by speculation. The origin of the human race in a single spot, and from a single pair, is spoken of in these volumes as if all sound physiologists were agreed in it. We make little account of what is said on this subject in England, where a brand of heresy, if not of atheism, would be affixed to any one who doubted the literal truth of the Mosaic narrative; but the name of Agassiz would alone be sufficient to shew that this opinion is not universal, nor its opponents ignorant of physiology. It is to be regretted that, in his able papers in the Christian Examiner, he did not confine himself to physiological evidence, without attempting to make the author of Genesis bear witness to an original plurality of races.

Dr. Bunsen, in his "Egypt's Place in Universal History," has bestowed great pains on an analysis of the primitive forms of the Egyptian language, and its results find an important place in the present inquiry into the relation of the Egyptian people to the other great families of mankind. That they were strikingly different from their nearest neighbours, the inhabitants of Syria and Palestine, is evident from the assignment of Ham as progenitor to the one, and Shem to the other, in the tenth chapter of the book of Genesis. The languages at first sight, too, appear wholly dissimilar; the roots of the Semitic dialects are triliteral, those of the Coptic biliteral or monoliteral; and this

alone should seem a very serious obstacle to their identification. It is indeed no new idea that, in the original state of the Hebrew language, its roots were biliteral, and several eminent oriental scholars have propounded methods by which triliteral roots might be reduced to the biliteral form, while others, of equal eminence, have declared such reduction to be impossible without great violence. It is of course essential to Dr. Bunsen's theory of the affinity of the Egyptian and Semitic languages, to maintain the *biliteralism* of the latter, and in an Appendix he has given an essay by Dr. Boetticher on the classification of Semitic roots. While, of preceding authors, some had effected the desired shortening by cutting off the head, and others the tail, of the triliteral root, he adopts the method of expansion, and supposes that, as the Semitic languages became more vocalized in their development, a greater number of consonants was requisite to carry the new vowels which had been introduced in order to modify the meaning of the root. And he brings some curious examples to shew that the changes which now mark conjugation in Hebrew—*e. g.* the prefixing of *nun* which makes the passive *niphal*—were not originally confined to this use, but were employed to enlarge a biliteral to a triliteral root, without constituting a new conjugation. An affinity which can only be established by such means, must be admitted to be a hazardous foundation on which to build an historical theory. Better evidence, however, of an original connection between the Egyptian and the Semitic languages is furnished by the correspondence between the numerals and the pronouns. It is a sound principle in comparative philology, as laid down by Dr. Müller, that where these coincide, especially if we find at the same time a coincidence in grammatical terminations, we have to do with cognate languages. The Saxons adopted many foreign words after their settlement in England, but they kept their own numerals, their own pronouns, and their own grammatical inflexions. At the same time, the differences between the Egyptian and the Semitic languages, as the latter appear in historical times, are so great, that the event by which their partial resemblance was effected must be referred to a very remote and altogether ante-historic æra. This Dr. Bunsen fully admits. He draws, indeed, upon the bank of Time with a boldness only inferior to that of the geologists, and which will be startling to those who have been accustomed to consider 2300, or at most 3000 years B. C. as the time when the whole human race consisted of Noah and his family, and even to those who have allowed themselves a freer range in chronology.

"The Egyptian language was already stereotyped in the fourth dynasty, that is about 3000 years before Christ, and must have been almost as much so when the æra of Menes began, which means the epoch of the foundation of Egypt as one empire, about 500 years before our earliest

contemporary monuments. This epoch itself is anything but the beginning of Egyptian life, which on the contrary had existed about 2000 years before Menes, organized already in Nomes, and gradually merging into the division of the Upper and Lower Country. This period again implies a long period during which the localization, and as it were the Africanizing, of that race took place."—I. 190.

If we can form any calculation of the time necessary to Africanize an Asiatic race, from what has taken place within the limits of history, we must add some thousand years to the 5500 B.C. which Dr. Bunsen assumes, for the time when what he calls his "Semitic deposit" took place in the valley of the Nile. We do not object to this from any scruples about the antiquity of the human race, but we must protest against such vague statements and estimates being made the foundation of a Philosophy of Universal History.

Having established his Semitic deposit in Egypt, Dr. Bunsen proceeds to trace another of the same kind, in the cuneiform inscriptions of Babylonia. Believing an historical connection to exist not only between the Semitic and the Egyptian, but between the Semitic and Iranian or Arian, that is Indo-Germanic languages, he has naturally looked out for a place in which mankind dwelt together when they used that common speech of which the fragments are found in the east and west and south. And he thinks the primitive abode of mankind, the place whence all their migrations began, was "the land between the Caucasus and Ararat in the west, the Altai in the east, and the Paropamisus in the south." It appears to him that physical data and the concurrence of independent primæval traditions admit but of one explanation—that the northern part of the region just described, with the Ural Mountains as islands in an open Polar sea, was the cradle of mankind, or of that portion of which we have documentary knowledge by their languages, for thousands of years, until a partial catastrophe in those regions connected with a change of climate,* drove the western tribes to the region of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and the others from the higher Oxus and Jaxartes to Asia. (II. 100.)

Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere. We had not expected in these days to see the hypothesis of Bailly revived, or the claim of the Scythians (Justin. ii. 1) to a higher antiquity than the Egyptians maintained by a learned ethnologist. Unfortunately, we have still to wait for the evidence of these primæval traditions and this great physical catastrophe, which is to be produced in the book of Beginnings, the unpublished portion of our author's Egypt. Till we see the foundation, we cannot judge of the stability of the superstructure. He supposes that the

* Of this change of climate we suppose the elephant found in the ice, with his flesh and skin entire, near the mouth of the Lena, will be produced in evidence.

earliest migrations took place previously to this physical change, and that the nations which have no traditions of a Flood, as the Egyptians and the Chinese, originated from such migrations; while those among whom they are found are later swarms, induced to quit their abodes by the catastrophe in question. We shall be able better to judge of the existence of such an event and its probable effects when we see the evidence; meanwhile we must point out how inaccurate and misleading is our author's language, when he calls the migrations which preceded this catastrophe "ante-Noachian," and the others, "post-Noachian." This gives to his hypothesis an air of being based upon a venerable tradition to which it has no claim. The Noachian Deluge, be it real or unreal, is an event wholly different in time, place and circumstance, from his physical change in the climate of Central Asia. It was a universal submersion of the earth, a destruction of the whole human race except the inhabitants of the Ark, of all living creatures except the representatives of species preserved in the Ark; it has a definite chronology, falling short by many thousand years of the migrations supposed to be produced by his physical catastrophe. Without at all calling in question the fact that from the neighbourhood of Caucasus and Ararat migrations, indicated by affinities of language, may have taken place to India on the one hand and Europe on the other, we may be allowed, on the ground of analogy, to doubt their connection with any physical change. Such events, when we can trace them historically, appear to be connected with social, not physical causes. It was not because the climate of Scandinavia and Sarmatia had suddenly grown colder, that the Barbarians precipitated themselves on the Roman Empire. It was no physical catastrophe which brought the Huns to Chalons, the Tatars to Pekin, or the Turks to Constantinople. The Celtic exodus has not been caused by any apprehension that Sir Joseph Yorke's remedy for the over-population of Ireland was about to be put in force, and the shore of the Green Island was perceived to be already sinking beneath the waters. Hunger, avarice, religious fanaticism and ambition, have been the motives which impelled men to seek more genial climates, and invade rich and defenceless realms. We fear, therefore, that our author's "Beginnings," when it makes its appearance, like all other attempts to write the history of ante-historic times, will prove only a romance.

Dr. Bunsen admits that between the Egyptian language and that of the Indo-Germanic nations there is a chasm over which it would be impossible to pass, unless some intermediate language could be discovered having affinities with both, and therefore serving as a bridge between them. Such a bridge he thinks he has discovered in the Babylonian language, as revealed by the interpretation of the cuneiform inscriptions. This language he regards as the historical trace of a second emigration from his

incunabular region; and as Berosus tells us that the Babylonians had a tradition of a Deluge, he calls this emigration post-Noachian. The progress of cuneiform interpretation has been watched with great attention, not only by historical students to see what new facts it would disclose respecting the Babylonian and Assyrian empires, but by oriental and biblical scholars, in the hope that it would settle the question what family of languages was spoken by the inhabitants of the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates. As regarded Babylon, the conviction had been very general that its language must have been Semitic; it was "the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency;" and ample remains of the Chaldee were in existence, differing only dialectically from Hebrew and Syriac. With regard to Assyria, the case was not so clear; but as Nineveh was built by a colony from Babylonia (Gen. x. 11), it seemed reasonable to conclude that at least the basis of its language must be Semitic. Dr. Bunsen has studied with great care all that has been written by Col. Rawlinson and Dr. Edward Hincks on the subject of the cuneiform inscriptions and the language which they represent, and he concludes that it is "the most ancient phasis of Asiatic Semitism anterior to our historical times, and next to the Asiatic idiom preserved by Egypt." The cuneiform character, too, as designed to be impressed on clay, he thinks had its origin in the brick-making region of Babylonia—not in Assyria, where stone is abundant. We must be understood as merely stating the results which our author believes to have been attained; for to us it appears very unsafe, in the present state of cuneiform interpretation, to assume its soundness as an essential part of an historical theory which goes back some ten thousand years. Against one of his remarks, however, we must enter an early protest. "Everything," he says (I. 261), "in the cuneiform writing leads to the supposition either of arbitrary arrangement or of priestly contrivance, invented on purpose, and intended to make the writing of the official language a mystery, because entirely conventional." We were not prepared to see the notion of a character devised for mystery and concealment, which has been so entirely exploded in its application to hieroglyphics, revived respecting another mode of writing. If the Babylonian bricks and Assyrian bas-reliefs had contained nothing but astronomical tables or religious mysteries, we could have understood the policy of using a secret character; but they are the records of victories and expeditions, which the sovereign no doubt never intended to confine to his priests. Napoleon would not have acted more absurdly if he had published his bulletins in Hebrew, than Sennacherib, if he recorded his triumphs over the Jews in a character devised for official mystery. We are told by Dr. Bunsen, on the authority of Col. Rawlinson, that among the remains of cuneiform writing are tiles answering to our *exchequer bonds*. Surely these were not conceived in an occult character.

We do not know whether Acts of Parliament are still engrossed in black letter, but a bank-note would have little chance of currency, if the promise to pay were not written in letters which every one can read who reads at all.

The philological part of Dr. Bunsen's work, elaborate as it is, only serves as introductory to an application of its principles to philosophy and religion, thus connecting it with the history of "Christianity and Mankind, their Beginnings and Prospects," and this again with Hippolytus and his Age, the germ of the whole work. This application occupies the principal part of the second volume. It is impossible to read these chapters without being impressed with the deep and earnest religious convictions of the author, and his desire to make all his studies converge in the establishment of the great truths of philosophy and religion, as they are conceived by him. If we do not enter into any examination of them, or present any abstract of them to our readers, it is because our mode of conception of these truths is so different, that we are unable to appreciate his reasonings or to expound his notions. Others, however, may be better able than ourselves to apprehend the meaning of the following passage from the Philosophical Basis of the Principle of Development, chap. i. (II. 155), entitled, "God and Creation," and therefore we quote it without comment.

"The object of the Thought of an infinite Being can only be Thought itself as Existence.

"We are thus obliged to distinguish in God, the Consciousness or Thought of himself (the ideality) from his Being (or reality). Hence we arrive at an original duality in the infinite Being. His thinking Himself, by an act of eternal Will, is identical with his establishing in his being, by this spontaneous act, the distinction of Subject and Object: the subject being Reason, the object Existence as such, as distinct from Thought.

"But that divine act implies, at the same time, the Consciousness of the ever-continuing Unity of Subject and Object, of Existence and Reason.

"Thus there is implied in the One Thought of God, a threefoldness centring in a Divine Unity.

"In its finite realization, this divine threefoldness of the mind reflects itself both in the psychological process, by which a perception or notion is formed in the human mind, and in the logical process or in the formation of a logical proposition."

Or of the following passage from "Creation" (II. 157):

"To consider Creation either merely as an infinite or merely as a finite act is equally untenable. Creation is not an act performed once for all, either eternally or in a given moment of time. Although it must be founded on eternal thought, it continues in time, as the finite evolution of the divine Being and Thought, through immediate finite agency. But on the other hand, this realization of God in the finite supposes the infinite process of Creation by the antithesis of Will and Reason in the divine Being, or to speak theologically, the eternal generation of the

Word, which is the Son in the highest, that is to say, in the infinite or ideal sense.

"As there exists a Creation, it is evident that this outward manifestation of God must be connected with that inner or immanent process. In the same manner as the Eternal Being manifests himself in this Self-consciousness as Thought, and as Unity both in Existence and Thought, the divine Mind in the Creation must be supposed to reveal himself in a twofold reality. The thought of God of Himself is a making objective the Eternal subject: indeed the creation of this universe is a continual objectivizing of subjectivity, and thus the reflex of the immanent divine process, applied to the finite."

A very singular part of the present work is that which the author has entitled, "Specimen of a Comparative Evangelical Dictionary, Semitic and Japhetic, for the Expression of Spiritual Ideas." By Semitic, he means really Jewish, or Scriptural; by Japhetic, Modern European. We know hardly any subject connected with religion, and especially with religious instruction, more important than that which is here opened. Our whole theological vocabulary is derived from a people whose ordinary style of thought and expression, even as Orientals, is entirely different from our own, in many respects opposed to it; and as Jews, was created by institutions and a history which made them, even among Orientals, a "peculiar people." This vocabulary has been stereotyped in creeds, articles and liturgies, and those who can be content to use it without attempting to analyze its meaning, escape much embarrassment. To more inquiring minds the question occurs, Do we attach the same ideas to this vocabulary as those from whom we have adopted it, or can we honestly use it while we attach to it different ideas? To say that the difference is all in the expression, that what seems to us exclusively Jewish and therefore inapplicable or unreal is mere figurative language, is only a partially satisfactory answer. No such separation can be made, except in a few trivial cases, between the expression and the conception; the conception suggests the expression, and is in its turn suggested by it. The Jewish and Oriental character of scriptural phraseology goes deeper than the clothing of language; it belongs to the very body of the thought. The words Regeneration, Redemption, Salvation, implied, in the conception of those from whom we have inherited their use, some ideas to which nothing corresponds in modern realities; and the same thing might be said of many other phrases of less importance in the theological system. Feeling this, some, like Mr. Maurice and his school, despite of philology and exegesis, force upon the language of Scripture a meaning in accordance with their ethical and philosophical opinions; while others shrink from the use of the traditionary language of prayer and preaching, and substitute for it a more modern and, as they judge, more philosophical language. The former practice, we think, is in no danger of being

extensively imitated; it is, if not a deceitful, certainly a delusive way of handling the word of God: the prevalence of the latter is to be deprecated, as tending to cut off the historical roots of Christian faith, and deprive the services of religion of the interest and efficacy which they derive from the free use of scriptural language and allusion. There should be no misunderstanding on this subject between the Christian teacher and those whom he instructs and whose prayers he offers; it should be a part of the religious training of the young to explain to them the sense in which this language and these allusions are applicable to the actual state of the world, and to their own religious feelings and convictions.

Dr. Bunsen gives first the ethical and then the speculative exponent of Semitic terms in Japhetic equivalents, e.g.,

Ethical Exponent.	*Speculative Exponent.*
Sin. Selfishness.	The assumption of infiniteness by finiteness.
Regeneration. The power of acting with moral responsibility.	The faculty of considering all finiteness as having its root in infiniteness.
Justification. The consciousness that the soul is in union with God, in spite of the imperfect manifestation of good in the finite.	The consciousness of the eternal reality in the manifestation of Thought in the finite.

The ethical exponent may be accepted as not unfairly representing in modern phrase the permanent truth enveloped in the Jewish expression; but in regard to the speculative, we must confess that we find the interpreter the harder to be understood of the two. As a specimen of scriptural exposition conducted on the same principle, we give

St. John's Teaching concerning God and the Word and the Father and the Son. St. John i. 1—5, 14. (II. 240.)

1. In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. 2 This Word was in the beginning with God.	Before the visible Universe existed, there was in God the conscious thought of himself as active Reason. This Thought was identical with God, the Substance of the Universe: it was God thinking himself, making himself objective to himself. This then is the divine existence of the Word as active Reason.
3. All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made.	The creation of the Universe is the manifestation in space and time of the same Thought of God of himself. There was nothing created which has not the principle of existence in that Thought of God of Himself.

4. What has been made in Him was Life,* and the Life was the light of men. 5. And the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not.

14. And the Word was made Flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.

18. No man hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him.

The Universe thus created continues to have the principle of Life in this divine Self-consciousness: this principle of substantial existence is also the intellectual principle in man. In the progress of history, this divine principle manifested itself as intelligence, as the enlightening principle, the principle of progress and development; but the selfish principle in man opposed itself to that divine principle.

God's eternal Thought of himself became personal in finite existence, in a Man, conscious of his divine nature. In this Man that divine word lived among us, and we beheld in Jesus divine glory and truth. He alone therefore could declare to mankind the true nature of God, for that primitive consciousness lived in him constantly and perfectly.

K.

REFORMED BRAHMINS OF HINDOSTAN.

BY SIR JOHN BOWRING.

[We have received from Sir John Bowring the following account of the Reformed Brahmins of Hindostan. It is their own statement of their own case, and must not be considered as conveying Sir John's opinions. But these interesting and enlightened men have clearly a right to be heard, and to be heard in a spirit of candour and of kindness.]

The *Tuttuvoadhinee Subha* was established in Calcutta in the autumn of 1839, by ten gentlemen who declared themselves "Believers in God, the One Unknown True Being, the Creator, Preserver and Destroyer of the universe." Their object was to maintain and extend the labours commenced by the departed Rajah Rammohun Roy, and to restore the worship of the One God, by ridding the Brahminical faith of the errors and perversions which had dimmed and darkened its primitive purity. They were awake to the fact, that whatever might be the success of Christian missionaries in the attempts to introduce Christian doctrines, their superior knowledge and civilization had shaken the whole fabric of Hindu idolatry. Alarmed by the progress

* Ὃ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν, according to the pointing of almost all the early Fathers.

of scepticism and atheism on the one hand,—opposed to the teachings of orthodox Christianity on the other,—and believing at the same time that the Vaidanta, rightly interpreted, would become a mighty instrument for the mental elevation and religious improvement of the Hindu people,—this small body of Reformers laid the foundation of an institution whose influence is silently and slowly, but obviously and incontestably, spreading among the native population.

They proposed to connect their religious teachings with plans of education, so as to train future instructors and co-operators in the work of reform. The second year after the establishment of the Society, a Bengalee school was founded in Calcutta (A.D. 1840), by which it was intended not to interfere with the arrangements of the English institutions, but to give, in addition, three hours of instruction, from six to nine a.m., in the Sanscrit and Bengalee languages. But it was found that the objects of the Society would not be advanced by making it subordinate to other institutions, and it was determined to make instruction in English a part of the system, and to remove the school to Banshbarra, near Hoogly, a seat distinguished among the Hindus by its erudition. Liberal subscriptions from the natives have supported the Society, which has republished the Vaidanta and such other works as represent what they deem the unpolluted doctrines of their religion. A monthly periodical, whose object is to disseminate their doctrines,—which, though in Bengalee, has sometimes an English article,—also emanates from the Society's press. "In the lamentable demise," they say, "of Rammohun Roy, the cause of religion received a shock from which it was feared it would hardly have recovered. The exertions, however, of the Tuttuvoadhinee Society have imparted renewed energy to that cause. They have led a large number of the educated and respectable members of society to appreciate the knowledge of God. The meetings of the Braumhu Sumanj are attended by overflowing congregations, and religious discussions are extensively maintained in native society."

The Vaidanters complain, and they have good reason to complain, of the unfriendly, unbrotherly spirit with which Christian missionaries have visited their attempts to remove the opprobrium of idolatry from the creed, and the practice of idolatry from the usage, of the Hindu population. It is fair, say these Reformers, it is becoming, and it is praiseworthy, to call the attention of the Brahmins to all the evidence, internal and external, which recommends the Mosaic and the Christian revelations; but the interests of truth will never be served by misrepresenting the opinions and discouraging the efforts of those who are honestly and laboriously engaged in the search after truth. It is but a mean and shabby liberty which will not allow inquiry to stray beyond one narrow road; it is sheer impertinence to

invite a man to an examination which is to subject him to opprobrium, and damnation even, if the evidence brought forward fails to produce conviction. What honest mind will enter into a controversy which is to be decided only by foregone conclusions? One learned divine, who represents the Shastras as teaching that the Deity is "without beginning or end, eternal—that which is and must remain, unchangeable—without dimensions, infinite—without parts, immaterial, invisible—omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent—enjoying ineffable felicity,"—calls this beautiful and sublime picture of God, every word of which might have been copied from our own Scriptures, as "utterly without meaning,"—"because it produces no corresponding impression on the minds of the worshipers" of that God. Would the fact that the great truths of Christianity fall unheeded upon multitudes of the Christian world, be allowed as evidence that these truths were "meaningless"? But if words—if *any* words, have meaning, why not these, written though they be in Sanscrit instead of Hebrew and Greek? If those who best understand them avow that they have a meaning, which they are able and willing to explain and communicate, and which, when explained, conveys to us—even to us—ideas not only clear and elevating, but harmoniously coinciding with our own highest mental associations, is it not somewhat presumptuous to assert, that what is so full of meaning to us, has no meaning for them? But zeal is very blind and unreasoning! The same learned authority allows that these definitions of the Divine attributes might have had a meaning once, but that the meaning was obliterated ages ago, and has ever since remained unintelligible. If (which seems the idea floating in the mind of the missionary) the inscriptions on a tablet are defaced by the progress of years, and nothing remains but a blank,—or if the language and characters in which the records were originally written have become wholly unreadable and unintelligible,—the result would be nearly the same, and the sense might indeed be involved in obscurity; but the Sanscrit is as intelligible now as is the ancient Hebrew or the classical Greek, and presents no difficulty even to the critic himself, who does not pretend that the description of the Deity is without meaning to his mind, though he insists on its being meaningless to those whose acquaintance with the language is far more profound than his own. One of the Brahminical advocates is rather severe upon Dr. Duff, the linguist, so clearly understanding and explaining what he insists is not intelligible to the native, and attributes the fancy to that "infallibility" which claims the privilege of being alone selected and alone beloved by the common Father of all, while the immense majority of the human race are doomed "to live and die in utter mental darkness," and after death "without doubt to perish everlastingly." Can it be a matter of wonder that thoughtful and benevolent

men express repugnance and feel abhorrence against so much presumption?

One of the attributes of Brahma, or rather the absence of certain attributes, has been made the principal ground for asserting that the Shastras convey unworthy notions of the Deity, one of the Sanscrit words applied to the Godhead meaning "without faculties" or "qualities." But it is clear, from innumerable passages, that the description is only meant to express the idea that Brahma has none of the faculties or qualities which distinguish humanity. For example: "The Supreme Being is not organized with the faculties (senses) of hearing, feeling, vision, taste or smell. He is eternal, without beginning or end, and is beyond nature. He is unchangeable." The Pundits assert, that as the exercise of the senses is sometimes dormant, sometimes active, they cannot belong to an immutable Being,—that as they depend on certain physical organs, such as the eye or the ear, they are not incompatible with sound notions of a spiritual and incorporeal Deity. An enlightened Brahmin would admit that "God is all eye, all ear, all sense;" but slumbering, or deafness, or indifference in any shape, they would repudiate as they repudiate all ideas of hatred, or jealousy, or anger, or any passion which would even for an instant disturb the eternal calm of the most serene felicity of the Godhead. The Vaidant describes the Deity as "all-powerful, perfect and eternal"—as being "truth, intelligence and infinity"—"regulating the birth, existence and destruction of the world." "On Him, heaven, earth and space depend—the intellect and the senses." "From eternity He hath equitably assigned to all His creatures their respective missions." "While creation sleeps, He is ever watchful, dispensing the various objects of desire,—He, the incomparably purest and greatest of Beings." He is "of all excellencies, the highest excellency." "He is Love itself, and from that love springs all felicity." "What earthly creature could enjoy life or motion, if God, who is Happiness itself, had no existence? It is He that imparts happiness to all." It has been contended by Christian missionaries, somewhat ardent and very blind, that the sacred books of the Hindus contain not "the remotest allusion to a single moral attribute" of the Divine Being; that "to worship Him is impossible" (though most assuredly He *is* reverently worshiped); and, moreover, that there is nothing in the contemplation of such a Deity to excite "one moral emotion of admiration, gratitude or love." The practical delineation "of such a God can only be equivalent to the promulgation of a system of Atheism." Well may the Brahmins indignantly appeal against such denunciations, which brand, as they say, the wisest and the best among them—their friends, their benefactors, their kinsmen—"with a reckless and impious scepticism, implying the lowest degree of human depravity and abjectness." Is it so that Christ

has been learned—is it indeed so that he is taught? "We have the right of retaliation," the Brahmins add, "but we will not retaliate;" nor will we "pretend to determine whether Christian forbearance and charity" warrant the publication of "the heaviest and most groundless of imputations."

The reforming Brahmins willingly accept many of the definitions of the Divine Being found in the New Testament, exactly as representing their own religious creed; such as that the Deity is He "in whom we live and move and have our being"—the "One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in us all." The Tuttuvoadhinee Subha has given the following definition of God, all in the words of the Vaidant:

"God is a sole-existent Spirit, whose influence pervades all nature, from whom every other existence in creation has proceeded, under whose providential care they all subsist, move and act, and in pursuance of whose laws they all suffer the various mutations to which they are subject, and ultimately cease to leave any trace of their existence behind them. He is capable of being known to man only as the omniscient, omnipresent and all-powerful Creator, Guardian and Ruler of the destinies of the universe, whose origin, preservation, various changes and ultimate destination, are solely the work of His will, the result of His providence, and the effect of His power. His real essence no vision can approach, no language can describe, no intellectual power can compass or determine. He is the only true Being, and nothing exists without Him. He alone has existed from all eternity, and everything besides Him had its origin from Him. He is One only, without a second. He is truth itself, His purposes being all fixed, His laws immutable, and His course unchangeable; and He rules the destinies of creation in accordance with the invariably fixed rules of justice and verity. He is wisdom itself, i.e. He knows by mere intuition all things and matters, past, present and to come, and is infinitely wise to frame and order things to their proper ends without flaw or defect. He is infinite, and He exists from eternity to eternity, or, in other words, He exists everywhere and at all times. He is happiness itself, being all perfection in Himself, and the source of all happiness to His creatures,—being unchanged and unchangeable in His own nature, and the origin of those innumerable blessings which are scattered throughout creation. He is almighty, able to do everything not base or sinful. He is all holiness and all goodness. His excellences are incomprehensible. He is shapeless, but the cause of all shapes, and the Supreme Ruler of the universe. He holds His moral government over all His creatures, and rewards and punishes the good and bad actions of mankind in accordance with laws unchangeably and eternally fixed by Himself in mercy and goodness infinite, and yet He is void of all passions which would argue changeableness and inconstancy. Fire burns, the sun enlightens the world, the firmament, the wind, and dissolution, take their rapid course through His fear, and yet He is all peace and calmness. Life, mind, the organs of sensation, ether, air, light, fluids, earth, the support of all creatures, originate from Him, He Himself being unborn, immutable and eternal. He alone and nothing else existed before creation, and He created everything out of nothing, by His sole commandment and at His own will."

The duties of man are classified under three heads, as regards God, man and ourselves. The primary duty is "habitually to think of God, to remember Him in all our ways, to fix our thoughts on Him whenever we are free from the anxieties arising out of our worldly concerns, to make Him the starting-point and goal of all our actions." The language of adoration will often spring from the contemplation of the perfections of the Godhead—of the beautiful phenomena of nature—from motives of gratitude, and resignation to the Divine will. But no human prayer or praise will alter the purpose or augment the felicity of God, His purposes being immutable, His felicity perfect. To ourselves we owe the cultivation and regulation of our intellectual faculties, the restraint of our appetites and passions, and the encouragement of all the nobler affections. The duties due to man are classed by them under three heads, of thoughts, words and deeds. 1. To covet no man's goods; to judge of no man harshly; to hold no unsound opinions, such as denying the existence or the spirituality of God. 2. To speak with habitual mildness; to tell no untruths; to accuse no man in his absence; to use no idle or profitless or unintelligible words. 3. To take nothing that is not yours or has not been given to you; to do no bodily harm to others (except in the execution of the law); and to avoid adultery. The firm understanding which enables a man to discharge this triad of duties, and to exercise complete control over his thoughts and words and deeds, entitles him to the rank of Tredundes, or treble conquerer.

The doctrine of repentance is thus taught: If a man commit sin and actually repent, that sin shall be removed from him; but if he merely say, "I will sin thus no more," he can only be relieved by actual abstinence from guilt.

The Vaids do not teach the doctrine of eternal punishment for deeds done in the body. Good and bad actions will inevitably receive their proportionate reward and punishment, with the exception only of expiated sin, or the visitation of the exact amount needful for reformation and encouragement. We shall have to pass through states of probation, during lives of longer or shorter durations, until fitted, by sound knowledge and entire devotion to the will of God, to enjoy that supreme felicity which is a participation of the Divine nature;—that the punishment which inevitably awaits our evil doings will be the most dismal and dreadful to which our souls can be subjected, while the reward of our virtues will give us a foretaste of eternal beatitude;—that man is destined for everlasting happiness, but left to attain that ultimate object of his creation by knowledge and devotion, by labouring in the ways of virtue and religion,—every one of his moral actions either bringing him nearer to, or removing him farther from, that ultimate goal which represents all the perfections of his nature.

The reforming Hindus recognize no authority but that of the Vaids. These books they deem "inspired," a direct revelation from the one spiritual God; all other sacred writings are subordinate, explanatory or illustrative of the doctrines of the Vaids. They repudiate a commonly-received notion among the Hindus, that the revelation of the Vaids was made before the beginning of time, or that it was contemporaneous with creation, and say that this notion of the eternity of the Vaids is only meant to convey the opinion that the Vaids are the records of eternal truths, — truths independent of ages, — truths existing before the creation of the world, and which will exist after the world in its present form shall have passed away. They say that the evidence of the divine origin of the Vaids is to be found in their superhuman excellence; that nothing but divine inspiration could have taught doctrines so elevated and sublime; that the traditionary testimony of generation following generation from the earliest time must be accepted as proofs of the inspired source of these revelations; that no books claiming to be divine have so great an amount of spiritual authority, whether as presented by internal evidence or historical association; that the substantial, unimpeachable character of truth and purity which has accompanied the Vaids through eras of darkness down to the present hour, entitles them to as high a reverence and as great an attention as is claimed for any portion of the Hebrew Scriptures, or the New Testament, or the Mahomedan Koran; and it cannot be denied that the controversy is thus placed on grounds where no Jewish, Christian or Mussulman theologian should refuse to encounter the Hindu. It will probably be discovered that the Hindus are less anxious to attack the divine authority of other revelations, than to establish the claims of their own. The reforming Hindus do not consider themselves as missionaries to convert other nations to their faith, but as charged to cleanse the Brahminical religion from its adulterations and impurities, and to bring back the creed of India to what they contend was its primitive excellence.

They maintain that the existence of truth in any form of teaching is evidence of its emanation from the God of truth; that the knowledge of divine things conveyed to man must come from the divine source of knowledge; that the human mind is a vessel moulded by the great Artificer for the reception of such revelations as He, in His omniscient benevolence, may be disposed to pour into it; that what God wills to be believed, is believed, forasmuch as He prepares man's intellect and affections for the reception of that belief; that this result is not brought about by miraculous or supernatural agency, but by the working of His own eternal and immutable law; that revelation is the brightening and strengthening of the human understanding to welcome and comprehend the emanations of light and strength from the

Divinity; that the importance of the doctrines revealed is to be estimated, not by the manner, but by the matter, of the revelation; that there can be no revelation of what is incomprehensible; that nothing is communicated beyond that which man's intellect has been trained to understand; that God never perplexes His creatures by revealing mysteries,—all revelations are light, not mists, still less darkness; that man has no concern with that of which he is ignorant, and respecting which his ignorance cannot be removed; that God has distinctly conveyed to him all that it is useful to him to know, or that is required of him to believe; that no disbelief is sinful; that no punishment attends man's doubting when he cannot understand; that special grace to comprehend the incomprehensible is inconsistent with the universal law of equal justice and equal benevolence which is the paramount teaching of religion, and with the paternal relation in which God stands towards all His creatures; that to demand convictions on matters beyond the reach of our capacities, forms no part of God's providence or purpose; that free thought is the gift of God, and that to fetter thought by insisting on certain conclusions, and threatening punishment if those conclusions are not reached, is illogical, cruel, and insulting to the attributes of God; that God asks nothing from us which we are incapable of performing; that the faculties of man are all fitted for the discharge of the functions allotted to those faculties by God; that fables and parables, symbols and illustrations, have been in all ages employed for the more facile conveyance of religious instruction, but that they are only useful or profitable in so far as they convey the nobler spiritual sense to the human mind; that the pantheism of the Vedas is the universal presence of God, but not the identity with matter; that God is self-existent, and the Creator, independent of and distinct from creation.—This is the outline of the Brahminical faith as laid down by the *Tuttuvoadhinee Subha.*

ADVANCES IN BRAHMINISM.

[The brief but interesting statement which follows, from the pen of Sir John Bowring, was communicated to Rev. E. Kell, of Southampton, accompanied by this letter:

H. M. Ship Rattler—Lat. 17. 9, Lon. 113. 52—May 10, 1855.

My dear Sir,—I am nearing home after a very happy and successful mission to Siam, where I have been received with extraordinary favour by the King, and have entered into a treaty which settles all questions in a most satisfactory way. I dare say the newspapers will tell you all about it. My success has indeed exceeded all my most hopeful anticipations. I trust in due time to publish an account of the Kings and the Court and the People, and of the strange minglings of barbarian splen-

dour, oriental prostration, and enlightened and progressive views. That there will be a large trade with Siam there can be no doubt; and it is no small gratification to me to have signed a treaty in which everything has been conceded to the influences of peace and reason which would have been extorted by the most successful war. I do not mean of course such results as the cession of territory; but I have obtained religious liberty where there had been many restrictions—free trade, where all was monopoly—the right of peaceable and protected settlement for British subjects, where before they were the victims of arbitrary and capricious interference—and many other privileges. I beg kind regards to your family. Ever yours truly, JOHN BOWRING.]

THERE is a wonderful revolution slowly but surely progressing in the religious world, under the influence of a sound philosophy. *Brahminism*, elevated by the teachings of the enlightened *Vedanters*, is becoming more and more purified from the superstitions and traditions which have obscured the great elements of truth that are undoubtedly to be found in the most ancient of the sacred books of the Hindus, and the recognition of one, invisible, all-creating, all-directing, spiritual God, will certainly penetrate from the higher intelligences to the masses of the Indian people. The present King of Siam passed in the seclusion of a convent more than the quarter of a century of his life, which he devoted to the severest studies. He owned to me that the cosmogony of the world as laid down by the Buddhist authorities, must give way to the irresistible evidence in support of the true theory of the universe as demonstrated by the Copernican system. The beneficent influence of missionary labours is to be traced far less in the conversion of heathen nations to the Christian theology, than in the undermining of those foundations upon which ignorance and presumption have raised the huge fabric of pagan error; and the progress of Christian truth will probably be hereafter more distinctly traced in connection and association with that great law of progress by which good is deduced from seeming evil—good producing good,

"And better thence again—and better still,
In infinite progression."

JOHN BOWRING.

PAUL'S CROSS.

PAUL'S Cross, of which I have seen old prints, was a kind of stone tent, "with leaden roof," at the north-east corner of Paul's Cathedral, where sermons were still and had long been preached in the open air; crowded devout congregations gathering there; with forms to sit on, if you came early. Queen Elizabeth used to "tune her pulpits," she said, when there was any great thing on hand; as governing persons now strive to tune their morning newspapers. Paul's Cross, a kind of *Times newspaper*, but edited partly by Heaven itself, was then a most important entity! *Carlyle's Cromwell*, I. 86.

REV. JOHN KENRICK'S PHŒNICIA.*

The earlier stages of human progress have generally displayed either the simplicity of nomad and pastoral life, or the aggressive energy of warlike violence and conquest; the friendly intercourse of nations, in which all parties are benefited by the interchange of wealth, is sometimes apt to be regarded as the result only of ages of successful culture. And the striking extent of manufactures and commerce among the principal modern nations, as opposed to their comparatively limited development in the two best-known peoples of the ancient world, might well favour the conclusion that commercial and manufacturing eminence were characteristics of modern, and especially of Christian, civilization. Colonization too, though by no means confined to modern nations, has generally been with them the evidence of matured power and practised enterprize—the fruit of the struggles and success of many generations of their citizens. A people, then, which more than a thousand years before our era, long before Greek history had emerged from the darkness of its mythical period, possessed skilful artizans and manufacturers, had organized a commerce embracing the remotest parts of the then known world, and had planted flourishing colonies not merely on the Mediterranean, but on the Atlantic shores of Europe and Africa, must be regarded as a most remarkable phenomenon; and its history must have peculiar interest for us, who in recent times, as they in remote antiquity, have taken the lead in commerce, colonization, and all the arts and appliances of civilized life.

It is singular that a people to whom we owe the invention, or at least the introduction, of letters in Europe, should have left no literature and no connected history of themselves, and that even of their language no monuments remain beyond a few imperfect fragments. Nor is the want of a native history supplied by any Greek or Roman classical writer. The historian, therefore, of Phœnicia labours under disadvantages which only a wide and patient research in discovering, and sagacity and skill in combining, the scattered lights which antiquity has left us, can surmount.

In the Preface to his "Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs," Mr. Kenrick announced that his next volume would embrace the history of Phœnicia and Syria. He has found, however, that Phœnicia alone afforded sufficient matter for a volume, and has preferred not to swell its size or delay its publication for the sake of uniting with it the history of Syria, which was neither closely connected with the fortunes of Phœnicia, nor, until the Macedonian period, itself of great importance in the history of the world. In the volume before us, he has selected and arranged,

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* Phœnicia. By John Kenrick, M.A. London—B. Fellowes. 1855.

with admirable judgment and method, the materials, comparatively scanty, yet far from absolutely few, which lie dispersed through a multitude of writers, sacred and profane. Availing himself of the erudite labours of Bochart, the first great scholar who devoted himself especially to the illustration of Phœnician antiquities, and of Movers, whose works present all that the latest investigations and discoveries have added to our knowledge, he has corrected some errors into which the scholarship of an earlier period naturally fell, and weighed in the balance of his own clear and practised judgment the conclusions of the most recent. The result is a work lucid and comprehensive for the general reader and student, and learned and accurate for the mature and critical scholar.

As in his history of Egypt, the author has divided this work also into two main portions. In the former, embracing the general description and antiquities of the country, separate chapters are devoted to an account of the Coast, the Climate and Productions, the Origin of the Nation, and a survey of its Colonies, followed by chapters on its Alphabet and Language, its Commerce, Navigation, Manufactures, Government and Religion. The second or historical portion, more briefly treated than the descriptive, is a masterly sketch of the fortunes of this remarkable people and their territory, extending from the earliest notices of the nation down to the times of the Crusaders and its conquest by the Ottoman Turks.

The Phœnicians were perhaps the earliest example of the truth, since so often proved by the course of history, that the strength and influence of a people are by no means limited by the smallness of the territory it originally possessed. Phœnicia was a mere strip of coast at the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean. Its boundaries are variously defined by different writers, but it does not appear to have exceeded three hundred miles in length, while its width never exceeded twelve miles, and was generally much less. Including, however, the fertile though narrow plains between the mountains and the sea, its produce was rich and varied, and the western slopes of Lebanon and its dependent chains supplied them with the timber indispensable for their shipping.

The name Phœnicia is merely the Greek appellation of the country; the native name was the to us more familiar one of Canaan. This name was given by the Jews, as well as by the inhabitants, to the country westward of Jordan to the sea; and the Phœnicians appear to have known their country by no other name. The Septuagint translates "Canaan" and "Canaanites" in the Hebrew, by "Phœnicia" and "Phœnicians;" and even the Carthaginians in Africa called themselves Canaanites. Though found by the Jews in possession of the land, they were not, however, in all probability, its original inhabitants. Their own belief

was that they came from the Erythræan or Red Sea,—a term which in Herodotus, who has preserved this tradition, has a wide extension, including the Indian Ocean with its two Gulfs, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. It is remarkable that not fewer than three places were found on the Persian Gulf bearing names similar, if not identical, with places in Phœnicia,—Tyrus or Tylus, Aradus and Dora,—in which were temples resembling in architecture those of Phœnicia, and the inhabitants of which claimed the Phœnicians of Palestine as their colonists. In their fondness for the sea and their propensity to piracy and commerce, the Phœnicians agree with the inhabitants of the shores of the Indian Ocean; and these various circumstances point to the conclusion that they were originally immigrants from the Arabian peninsula into Syria, who, when driven in great part from the interior by the intrusion of the Jews arriving from Egypt, retained and consolidated, by their inherent energy and maritime genius, their settlement upon the coast. The date of their migration is uncertain. Tyre itself, which was younger than Sidon, claimed, according to Herodotus, to have been founded as early as 2750 B.C., a claim certainly unsupported by evidence. But the conquest of Canaan by the Jews took place about 1450, and the settlement of the Phœnicians must have preceded it by many generations. We find also strong evidence of their antiquity in the very early date of some of their colonies; that of Gades, which, lying at the further extremity of the Mediterranean, could not have been one of their first settlements, was founded in the twelfth century B.C. And as they are believed to have been expelled from the islands of the Ægean three generations before the Trojan War, we cannot suppose their occupation of them to have been much later than the fifteenth or sixteenth century before the Christian era.

By far the largest of the descriptive sections of the work is occupied by a detailed survey of the colonies, the number and importance of which furnish the strongest proof of the energy and enterprize of the Phœnician character. Mr. Kenrick divides the progress of their discoveries and settlement into three successive eras, which would be naturally determined by the conformation of Mediterranean itself. A glance at a map of this inland sea will shew at once that it is divided into three well-marked basins by opposite projections of the European and African coast.

"The most eastern of these, extending from the coast of Syria, and including the Ægean and Euxine, has its western limit defined by the promontory of Malea and the island of Crete on the European side, and the projection of Cyrenaica on the African, leaving an interval of 170 miles. The second has a still narrower inlet from the west, its boundaries, Lilybæum in Sicily, and the Hermæan promontory near Carthage, being only eighty-eight miles distant from each other. The third is that

which is entered from the ocean by the Pillars of Hercules, and, ascending to the north along the coasts of Spain and Gaul, returns by those of Italy and Sicily to meet the projection of Africa."

The progress of colonization would naturally commence with Cyprus, and seems to have proceeded along the coast of Asia Minor to the Ægean, the principal islands of which were soon colonized, and some of them, especially in the northern portion of the sea, long retained traces of the Phœnician worship of Vulcan and the Cabiri. Crete was the site of numerous settlements of the Phœnicians; and Minos, who expelled them from the island, was regarded as the descendant of the Grecian Zeus and the Phœnician Europa. On continental Greece, the myth of Cadmus as founder of Thebes in Bœotia, and the name of Cadmeia borne by its citadel, point to a very early settlement of the Phœnicians; and the inquiries of Herodotus confirmed the popular belief. The name of Onca, too, by which Minerva was worshiped there, and which was given to one of the gates of the city, was Phœnician. It is curious that some of the earliest mythic traditions of the Greeks have a decided connection with Phœnicia, and some of them receive significance only by a reference to a Phœnician origin. Thus the story of Dædalus, the rape of Europa, the legend of Agenor, and the voyages of Cadmus, indicate the points of Phœnician intercourse with Asia Minor and Greece. The Argonautic expedition, though claimed by the Greeks, bears many traces of Phœnicia. The voyage and return, in which the Euxine, the Erythræan Sea, the Lake Tritonis in Africa, the Western Mediterranean, and the Ocean beyond the Straits, are variously jumbled together, can only be explained as representing the direction of the Phœnician voyages and commerce. The ship Argo itself was said to be the first *long* ship constructed by the Greeks; and this would be the signification of the name in Phœnician but not in Greek, and Æa has an obvious etymology in the same language.

In the central basin, the first colonies of the Phœnicians would be in Sicily, where they would take possession of promontories and smaller islands near the coast. The dates of these, though of course later than of those nearer to Syria, are still too remote to be determined with historical accuracy. On the arrival of Greek colonists on the eastern parts of the island, the Phœnicians withdrew to the north-western promontory of Lilybæum, itself a strong position from its commanding height, and the nearest point to their powerful colony of Carthage, from which they might expect support. Besides Sicily, the smaller islands between it and Africa were occupied by them, and Melita (Malta) seems to have derived its name from having been a "refuge" to them in their long voyages. The remains of Phœnician character now found on the island are probably of the later Carthaginian occupation; and the language, which caused the Greek

writer of the book of Acts to call the people barbarians, was perhaps more Punic than Phœnician. Sardinia was known to the Phœnician mariners from its lying in the course of their voyages from Sicily to Spain, but its connection was less direct with them than with the Carthaginians of later times. The Balearic isles were permanently occupied as valuable harbours of refuge, but the most important settlements in this western portion of the Mediterranean were in the south of Spain, in the region of Tartessus or Tarshish. This famous region, nearly corresponding to the modern Andalusia, was one of the most fertile and wealthy in the world. It may be inferred from the mention of Tarshish in the tenth chapter of Genesis, that the Phœnicians had commercial intercourse with it long before they had founded any permanent establishments there. It was only from them that the Hebrew writers could have become acquainted with the name. Of the various flourishing colonies in this region, perhaps the most remarkable was Gadeira, the modern Cadiz, whose site combined all the advantages by which the Phœnician settlements were usually determined. Its harbour is enclosed between the shore and an island twelve miles in length, separated only by a narrow strait; hence the name is derived (Gadir, an enclosure), and the excellence of the original selection has been proved by the subsequent and constant prosperity of the city as a commercial port. In Strabo's time, its population was next to that of Rome itself. Numerous other towns in this region prove by their names their connection with Phœnicia, though some of them may have owed their origin to Carthaginian rather than Tyrian occupation. In Carteia, near Gibraltar, we have the Phœnician word for town, as in Carthage and Carthagena. Malaga derived its name from *malach*, the Phœnician and Hebrew word for salt, for manufacturing which and pickling fish there were here large establishments. Hispalis or Spalis (Seville) is most likely so denominated from the wide plain (sephela) through which the Guadalquivir flows. Belon is unmistakeably Phœnician, and Sidon yet exists in Asido and the modern Sidonia.

The most illustrious colony of the Phœnicians was of course Carthage, which, differing somewhat from the others in being a political rather than a merely commercial offshoot of Tyre, distinguished itself yet more by its rapid growth as an independent power, and the more aggressive policy it pursued. At first, indeed, it, like the parent state, made only commercial settlements, but soon aspired to the dominion of the western seas, and became the virtual sovereign of not only the native tribes and towns, but of the Phœnician colonies of Northern Africa. Its rise and earlier wars with the Phocæans of Massilia, and its conquests in Sicily and Spain, are traced by our author as belonging to Phœnician history; but its wars with Rome, and the fierce and fatal struggle which ended in its utter annihilation, have been pro-

perly left untold, as less connected with Phœnician than Roman history.

Chapter VI. is a comprehensive and instructive review of the commerce of the Phœnicians. This was the great source of their wealth and power, and to this their numerous colonies were practically subservient. It was, too, the most distinguishing characteristic of the nation. In their colonization, art and manufactures, they have been approached or rivalled by other ancient nations; Egypt and Assyria had attained high excellence in the useful and ornamental arts, and have left behind them architectural monuments which still command our admiration; while Greece, surpassing all other races in æsthetic and intellectual art, displayed a colonizing energy which scattered settlements over the whole of the Mediterranean. But Phœnicia alone linked the ends of the then known world together in a golden bond of mercantile intercourse, and, in navigation and geographical discovery, achieved enterprizes which almost equal the greatest of modern times. It must, however, be confessed that the beginnings of their career, which was to prove so glorious and beneficial, were anything but reputable. Piracy and kidnapping were the amusements, not to say the business, of the earliest Sidonian traders, who are represented by Homer as carrying off and selling for slaves, men and women whom they could get into their power by force or fraud. By degrees there grew up from these free practices of the first rovers of the seas, a legitimate and organized commerce, which, by the regularity and certainty of its profits, and the risk and magnitude of its operations, satisfied both their cupidity and their adventurous spirit.

The poetical sketch of Ezekiel (chap. xxvii.) displays the state of Tyrian commerce in the sixth century before Christ, and furnishes the outline which our author has filled up. Phœnicia occupied, in respect to the then known portion of the earth, a central position somewhat analogous to that of Britain towards the habitable globe of our own time. Lying midway between east and west, north and south, the lines of communication naturally passed through it, and favoured its becoming the medium and instrument of exchanging the productions of opposite extremities. The mighty traffic which thus centred in Tyre and its sister ports, had five principal streams or directions. From the south-east, the produce of Arabia, spices, precious stones, gold, and of Persia and India, ivory, ebony, cotton and perhaps iron, was carried to ports on the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, and thence by caravans to the Mediterranean, whence the fleets of Tyre distributed them over the west. An active trade was carried on between Syria and Egypt, the spices, wine and fragrant gums of Syria, being exchanged for the embroidered linen and the corn of Egypt. Mesopotamia and Assyria supplied various manufactured products to the markets of Tyre. Armenia sent

troops of riding horses and mules, as well as copper and the brilliant mixed metal orichalcum; and the countries south of the Caucasus, the most highly-prized slaves. The tunny fishery of the Euxine and Propontis was not neglected, and Greece was supplied with many articles of luxury by vessels periodically visiting Athens and the Ægean. Lastly, the south of Spain, the Tarshish of the Hebrews, was the great source of metallic riches, silver, iron, tin and lead. Of these, tin is the most remarkable from its being found in only three countries in any abundance—Spain and Portugal, Cornwall, and the islands of Junk-Ceylon and Banca, in the Straits of Malacca. That it should have been obtained in ancient times from this last source is very unlikely, for no such traffic is mentioned, and it was even exported from the Red Sea to India. Spain was certainly the earliest source of the tin which was supplied to the Mediterranean countries by the Phœnicians, but it cannot be doubted that they soon discovered also the tin mines of our own islands. We quote the remarks of Mr. Kenrick on this point, and on the identification of the Scilly Islands with the ancient Cassiterides:

"How long it was before they discovered the far richer supply which the British Islands afford, is altogether uncertain. After their establishment at Gadeira, no doubt they would soon explore the coasts of Portugal and northern Spain; but we lose sight of their progress entirely through the long space which separates that coast from the Scilly Isles and Cornwall. We hear nothing of their trading on the Gallic shores of the Bay of Biscay, along which we might have conceived them to have crept, till a short navigation would bring them to the western extremity of Britain. But it is more probable that they reached the Cassiterides by a direct course. They seem to have become known only as islands lying in the depth of the ocean, and in no relation to Britain or Gaul.

"Herodotus knows nothing of the northern parts of Europe beyond the reported existence of the Cassiterides and a river which supplied amber. These islands are described, even by Strabo, as lying deep in the sea, northward from the port of the Artabrians; following in this, no doubt, the descriptions of authors who lived before the Romans became acquainted with the navigation. Avienus, who had the voyage of Himilco before him, also speaks of them under the name of Œstrymnides, as lying in a vast gulf, stretching from Œstrymnis, or Cape Finisterre.—That by the Cassiterides or Œstrymnides the ancients meant the Scilly Islands, is highly probable, because, though they do not in all points correspond with their description, no others answer so well; and in all attempts to identify ancient and modern geography we find difficulties arising from vague language and inaccurate knowledge. The following is the account of them given by Avienus:—'Beneath this promontory (Cape Finisterre) spreads the vast Œstrymnian gulf, in which rise out of the sea the islands Œstrymnides, scattered with wide intervals, rich in metal of tin and lead. The people are proud, clever and active, and all engaged in incessant cares of commerce. They furrow the wide rough strait, and the ocean abounding in sea monsters,

with a new species of boat. For they know not how to frame keels with pine or maple, as others use, nor to construct their curved barks with fir; but, strange to tell, they always equip their vessels with skins joined together, and often traverse the salt sea in a hide of leather. It is two days sail from hence to the Sacred Island, as the ancients called it, which spreads a wide space of turf in the midst of the waters, and is inhabited by the Hibernian people. Near to this again is the broad island of Albion.' The latter part is derived from some other authority than that of Himilco; but in his account we recognize the coracle, the characteristic boat of Britain, navigating the stormy sea between the Land's End and the Scilly Islands. Pliny describes the coracle still more exactly, as being made of wickerwork, round which leather was sewed. Boats of similar construction are still used on the west coast of Ireland, and can live in seas which would be fatal to craft of more solid materials. It is true that in the Scilly Islands tin is not now worked; and according to Borlase, the ancient workings were neither numerous nor deep. But even had they produced no tin, it was exactly accordant with the policy of the Phœnicians, as we have elsewhere become acquainted with it, to take possession of islands near a coast with which they had to carry on a trade, securing themselves by this means against any sudden attack, and holding in their hands the power of arrival and departure. An island might naturally be described as rich in tin and lead, which was the emporium of a district so rich in these metals as Cornwall. We can trace the progress of more accurate knowledge respecting them. Strabo, apparently following Posidonius, says, 'The Cassiterides are ten in number; one of them is uninhabited; the rest are inhabited by men *in dark garments*, reaching to their feet, and bound round the waist with a girdle; they carry a staff in their hands, *and resemble the Furies in a tragedy*. They live chiefly by their flocks, but have also mines of tin and lead, and exchange these and their hides for pottery, salt, and articles of brass, with the merchants. Formerly the Phœnicians of Gadeira exclusively possessed this trade, and concealed the way hither from all others.' He then relates the story of the master who ran his ship upon the rocks, and proceeds: 'The Romans, however, discovered the way by sea after repeated attempts. But when P. Crassus crossed over to those islands, and found that the metals were procured from a shallow depth, and that the people were peaceable and navigated the sea for their amusement, he shewed the voyage to every one who wished it, though it is longer than the passage to Britain.' We see here that something of the ancient mystery still hung about these islands; and Strabo, though he wrote after the Roman conquest of Britain, has not availed himself of the more recent and accurate accounts of the trade preserved by Diodorus, who says, 'I will speak of the tin which is produced in Britain. Those who live about Belerium, the promontory of Britain, are remarkably hospitable, having been civilized by their intercourse with foreign merchants. They prepare the tin, skilfully working the ground which produces it. It is rocky, but has earthy veins, from which they extract the product, and purify it by melting. Having cast it into regular blocks, they carry it to a certain island which lies off the coast of Britain, and is called Ictis. At the ebb tide the intervening space is dry, and tin in large quantities is brought over in carts.....Here the merchants purchase it from the

natives, and carry it into Gaul, and finally, by a journey of thirty days on horseback, it is conveyed to the mouth of the river Rhone.' In this passage the true site of the tin mines is described; they are found chiefly in the south-western corner of Cornwall, in Gwennap, Polgooth and Redruth; and the island which at low water is joined to the mainland can be no other than St. Michael's Mount, which was excellently adapted from this circumstance to be the place of trade between foreign dealers and the inhabitants of the continent. Some of the principal tin mines are in the immediate neighbourhood of Mount's Bay. As the Phœnicians made no settlements in Britain, and merely anchored their vessels, first at the Scilly Islands, and afterwards at Mount's Bay, returning at the close of summer to the south of Spain, it is not wonderful that no inscriptions or monuments attest their presence or influence in our island. It is, however, by no means improbable that the tin which came originally from Cornwall may have returned thither from Gaul or Spain, in the form of those instruments of bronze which are some of the earliest of our British antiquities in metal."—Pp. 216—221.

The limits of Phœnician commerce and discovery towards the west, as indeed of European knowledge till modern times, was the island or islands described by Diodorus in glowing colours, as fit for the abode rather of gods than men. These islands had been reached by them after having been driven many days' sail into the Western Ocean, and are the same as those called by the Greeks the Islands of the Blest, and by the Latins the Fortunate Islands, which we know to have been the Canaries, the principal of them being called Canaria, from the large breed of dogs which it produced.

The Navigation of the Phœnicians was so intimately connected with their Commerce and Colonies, that, after the full and comprehensive manner in which these had been treated, a separate chapter was perhaps hardly required. They were naturally regarded as models of nautical skill by the other nations of the Mediterranean; but it is remarkable that while they very early observed the near coincidence of the last star in the Little Bear (our Pole Star) with the actual Pole, and used it in their navigation, the Greeks and Romans continued to use only the constellation of the Great Bear for the same purpose. An interesting question connected with their daring and success as navigators, viz., the probability of their alleged circumnavigation of Africa in the time of Pharaoh Necho, as narrated by Herodotus, iv. 42, has been already discussed by Mr. Kenrick in the second volume of his work on Egypt,—a reference to which might be satisfactory to some who, like ourselves, may look for some mention here of an enterprize which, wonderful as it may seem, rests on evidence of no common kind.

Though it was by acting as the carriers of the produce of other nations that the Phœnicians acquired their chief wealth and influence, they were themselves successful producers, and either invented or acquired a very early pre-eminence in various

processes of art and manufactures. In the Jewish Scriptures, mention is made of the skilful artists of Tyre and Sidon, and of their works in gold and silver, iron and brass, in purple, in stone and timber, in fine linen and the engraving of precious stones, to which Solomon's temple owed its magnificence; and in the Homeric poems, costly gifts, presented to each other by kings and states, are represented as the workmanship of Sidonian artists. There were besides two branches of manufactures, properly so called, in which they claimed priority and maintained for centuries a marked pre-eminence—the dyeing of purple and the manufacture of glass; the one being carried on principally at Tyre, the other at Sidon. We quote a portion of the description of the Tyrian dyeing process. After describing the Buccinum and Murex, the shell-fish from which the purple is extracted, the author proceeds:

"The property of the Muricidæ to furnish a purple dye was not a secret of the Phœnicians. It is applied to this use by the Chinese, and by inhabitants of the coast of South America.* Bede mentions its use by the ancient Britons, and it was from hearing that it was still employed in Ireland, that Mr. Cole, of Bristol, in 1684, was induced to make the first researches in modern times, and ascertained that the liquor was obtained from the *Buccinum lapillus.* Nor was its skilful manufacture confined to Phœnicia. The coast of Laconia furnished a purple second only to that of Phœnicia; Tarentum, Ancona, the north coast of Africa, and the Canary islands, are all mentioned as places in which it was carried on. In most of these we trace the influence of Phœnician colonization; Cythera on the coast of Laconia, which bore the name of Porphyrusæ, was one of their earliest settlements. Phœnicia, however, maintained the pre-eminence. It had the advantage of an inexhaustible supply of the shell-fish, furnishing the brightest dye, a brilliant sunlight, and probably some knowledge of chemistry, by which the native colour of the liquor was heightened. The most detailed account of the process of manufacture which we possess is that given by Pliny, in the ninth book of his Natural History. The season for the capture of the Purpuræ was the early spring and before they had parted with their eggs, in the vesicles of which, as Reaumur ascertained, the colouring fluid existed in even larger quantities than in the mature animal. A long rope was let down into the sea, to which were fastened at intervals baskets, constructed like those used at the present day, with openings into which the fish easily entered but could not return, and baited with mussels or frogs, on which the Murex seized with avidity.

* Squier, in his account of Nicaragua, states that the Indians of that coast procure this dye from a species of Murex. Their process is very primitive. They take cotton thread to the sea-side, where, having gathered a sufficient quantity of the shell-fish, they patiently squeeze over the cotton the colouring fluid from the animals one by one. At first the thread is pale blue, but on exposure becomes of the desired purple. This colour is so prized, that purple thread dyed by cheaper and speedier methods, imported from Europe, cannot supplant the native product. With mingled humanity and thrift, they replace the whelks in their native element after they have yielded up the precious liquor for which they were gathered.

Being taken from the shell, the sac above mentioned was extracted, while the animal was yet alive, as the colouring matter soon changed its quality after death; or, if killed, it was with a single blow, as protracted death injured the colour. The Buccinum being smaller, the sac was not extracted, but the body crushed with the shell and both thrown in together. Salt, in the proportion of 20 ounces to 100 pounds, was then thrown upon it. After a maceration of three days, the pulp was placed in a vessel of lead (brass or iron being carefully avoided lest they should communicate a tinge to the dye), and caused to simmer with a moderate heat by a pipe brought from a distant furnace. The animal matter which adhered to the sac was removed by repeated skimmings, and at the end of ten days the liquor had become clear, being so reduced in bulk, that 100 amphoræ, or 8000 pounds, of the pulp produced only 500 pounds of the dye. At this stage of the process the colour of the fluid should be dark rather than red. Wool in the fleece, carefully washed, was then dipped into it, to ascertain its strength, and heat again applied till the due strength was attained. After five hours' steeping, the wool was taken out and carded, and again steeped till it had imbibed as much of the dye as it would take up.....The three principal tints were violet or amethyst, red, and purple, as we have described it above. The two latter passing into each other by insensible gradations, their names are vaguely used. Thus the garment put in mockery on our Saviour is called by Matthew scarlet; by the other evangelists, purple. As luxury in Rome went on increasing, the more expensive tints came into fashion. When Cornelius Nepos, who died in the reign of Augustus, was a young man, says Pliny, the violet purple cloth was in vogue, a pound of which cost a hundred denarii; and not long after, the Tarentine red. To this succeeded the Tyrian Dibaphon (twice dyed), which could not be bought for a thousand denarii the pound.....Extraordinary statements are found in the ancients respecting the durability of the best purple dye. When Alexander took possession of Susa, he found among its treasures 5000 talents in weight of purple cloth from Hermione in the Peloponnesus, which had been laid up there for one hundred and eighty years, and yet retained all the freshness and brilliancy of its original colour."—Pp. 240 seq.

(To be concluded in the next No.)

SERVETUS AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE CIRCULATION OF THE BLOOD.

The current No. of the *Quarterly Review* contains, in a review of M. Flourens' "Histoire de la Découverte de la Circulation du Sang," recently published at Paris, an instructive narrative, founded on the important work of the Parisian Professor of Natural History, of the progress of the discovery of the circulation of the blood. A much higher estimate is taken of Servetus's part in this discovery, than is given in previous treatises on this subject; and this award of merit to Servetus on purely scientific grounds, is particularly interesting at a time when theological

bigotry, in its desire to protect the reputation of Calvin, has renewed the efforts to blacken Servetus, and represent him as a fanatic or a madman. After describing the advance made by Galen, and next by Vesalius, the father of modern anatomy in the middle of the 16th century, the reviewer proceeds thus:

"But Vesalius advanced no farther; and it is remarkable that, after so great an anatomist had failed, it should have fallen to the lot of an individual who had devoted his energies not to anatomy but to controversial theology, to make a greater stride than any one had made before him towards the discovery of the true theory of the circulation. For those of our readers who are not conversant with these subjects, it may be well to premise that in all the higher classes of animals there is a double circulation, the one for the transmission of the blood through the lungs for the purpose of its being exposed to the influence of the air in respiration; the other for the purpose of distributing it, after it has received that influence, to the body generally, these two circulations being wholly distinct from each other.

"Calvin rejected the authority of Rome. Servetus was opposed to Calvin. With the Romish Church, Calvin was a heretic; Servetus was a heretic with Calvin. When he published his treatise on the 'Restoration of Christianity' (*'Christianismi Restitutio'*), Calvin persuaded the magistrates of Geneva that he ought to be treated by them as himself would have been treated by the Inquisition if it had had him in its power; and he was condemned to death and was burnt. In the aforesaid treatise he gave an account of the pulmonary circulation, applying it in some way to his peculiar opinions in theology.

"A copy of Servetus's work, for which he thus, through the instrumentality of Calvin, acquired the glory of martyrdom, is preserved in the Imperial Library of France.* M. Flourens supposes it to be the only copy now in existence, an opinion which may well be correct, as we learn from Sir Henry Ellis that there is no copy of it either in the British Museum or in any other of the principal public libraries of this country. The Parisian copy itself is in a mutilated state, having been partly burnt, as if it had been somehow snatched from the flames which were intended to consume at once the heresies and the heretic. Fortunately that part of the volume which treats of the circulation remains entire, and thus M. Flourens has had the opportunity afforded him of giving an exact account of the opinions of this singular physiologist.

"The views of Servetus, when separated from certain wild metaphysical speculations with which they were mixed up, may be thus briefly explained.

"1. The hypothesis of Galen, that there is some kind of union of the venous and arterial blood, or that something is transmitted from the one to the other, through the partition or septum which separates the cavities of the left and right side of the heart, is altogether a mistake.

"2. The scarlet (or arterial) blood which is found in the cavities of the left side of the heart, is essentially different from the dark-coloured (or venous) blood which is found in the cavities of the right side; the

* It is stated that this copy of Servetus's work had belonged to Colladon, one of his accusers, and that it had at one time formed a part of the library of our countryman Dr. Mead.

former containing a *spirit* which is wanting in the latter, and having in consequence peculiar properties by which it is fitted for certain purposes in the animal economy (especially as regards the brain and nerves) for which the dark-coloured blood is insufficient.

"3. The *spirit* on which these peculiar properties depend is derived from the air drawn into the lungs in the following manner:—The pulmonary artery (or *vena arteriosa*, so called, because, although it has the structure of an artery, it contains dark-coloured blood) conveys the blood from the right side of the heart to the lungs, where it divides into a multitude of smaller vessels, which terminate in other equally small vessels, which unite to form the pulmonary vein, by which last the blood is transmitted to the cavities on the left side of the heart. It is during its passage from the one system of vessels to the other, that the blood comes in contact with the air, assumes a scarlet colour, and is purged of its impurities, which are expelled by exspiration *(et exspiratione in fuligine expurgantur)*.

"A modern physiologist would have added to this statement a description of the chemical changes which the air undergoes from its contact with the blood in the air-cells of the lungs; but otherwise there can be no clearer exposition of the pulmonary circulation than that which we have just quoted from Servetus. In other respects his physiological knowledge did not extend beyond that of his predecessors and contemporaries. He believed with Galen that the process of sangnification (a production of the blood) took place in the liver, to which organ the nutritive fluid or chyle was conveyed by the veins of the intestines; and that while the scarlet blood was distributed throughout the body by the arteries, the dark-coloured blood was distributed in like manner by the veins—the former being intended for the supply of one class of organs, and the latter for that of another.

"At this time Padua was the most celebrated school of anatomy in Europe—Vesalius, Fallopius, Fabricius d'Acquapendente, being, or having been, numbered among its professors. Six years after the announcement of it by Servetus, the pulmonary circulation was taught by Columbus, another professor of that university. Did he borrow it from Servetus? M. Flourens is probably correct in answering the question in the negative. If Servetus, as being an Unitarian, was held to be a heretic in Protestant Switzerland, he must be held to be a much worse heretic in Catholic Italy, and it may well be supposed that Columbus might never have seen a copy of the theological treatise which was condemned to the flames with its author."

A PATRIOTIC LORD OF THE BEDCHAMBER.

When the public reception of D'Adda (the Pope's Nuncio) took place at Windsor, the Duke of Somerset, who was First Lord of the Bedchamber, refused to introduce him, telling the King [James II.] it was against the law. "Do you not know that I am above the law?" said the King. "But I am not," rejoined the Duke. The ceremony was performed by the Duke of Grafton. Somerset lost his place and the command of his regiment.—*Strickland's Queens of England*, IX. 196.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE LATE REV. MICHAEL MAURICE.

Sir,

Though I will not fill your pages at any length, yet I feel that some answer is due to the Rev. J. P. Gell's letter in your last number, alleging that the Rev. Michael Maurice had changed his religious opinions in the closing scenes of his very protracted life. But ere I say more, I may be permitted to state that, before entering on the Memoir, I wrote to a near relative of the deceased for information, but was not favoured with a reply. If, therefore, there was unrecorded change in the last months or years of the Rev. Michael Maurice's life, such omission arose from no want of effort on my part to obtain correct data.

There is nothing in Mr. Gell's letter until the fourth paragraph, which is in any degree antagonistic to my views of Mr. Maurice's opinions. Inconsistent I conceive it was in a Unitarian to have sought the pastoral ministrations of one who was not a believer in the sole supremacy of Jehovah. And better I think it would have been to have entered the dark valley in the spirit, and following closely the example, of his dying Lord, trusting alone in a Father's presence, leaning alone on a Father's arm. But I have shewn that such inconsistency was Michael Maurice's weakness—his failing.

Mr. Gell's strong points are, his assertion that Michael Maurice sometimes prayed *to* Christ,—that "he ever with the name of Christ acknowledged the Godhead of Christ,"—that his last words (as Mr. Gell had been *told)* were, "Lord, have mercy upon me! Christ have mercy upon me!"—and his declaration to his dying partner a year before his death, "that he was in full agreement with her in the attachment she entertained to the doctrines of our Church." If Mr. Gell was correct in his belief that Michael Maurice on his dying bed had absolutely acknowledged the Godhead of Christ and addressed his prayers to him, then must our aged friend, with declining strength, at fourscore years and eight, have given up the faith which he professed through life. I cannot say that it was *not* so; but I shall, before I close, shew on what ground I rest my belief that Mr. Gell is mistaken.

The participation of the Lord's Supper at the time specified with his dying wife, according to the ritual of the English Church, by which the Church presupposes adherence to her doctrines, I could look upon as only part and parcel of the failing I have deplored. But if our friend, as Mr. Gell had heard (but about which I think there must be misapprehension), had previously declared his full agreement with Mrs. M. in the attachment she entertained to the doctrines of that Church, then must Mr. Maurice have suffered his habitual yielding to lead him on to a degree of insincerity of which I cannot—no, I do not—believe him to have been capable. For it was after that period that I twice saw him, on one of which occasions he expressed *unmistakeably* his joy at the establishment under my ministry of a Unitarian church at Southampton, grasping my hand, when I mentioned it, with a fervency I shall not soon forget, and at the same time so expressing himself that I feel confident his opinions were *then* substantially the *same* as my own. It was also after the death of Mrs. Maurice that his friend, Thomas Hounsell, Esq.,

of Bridport, visited him. Alluding to the fact of Mr. Maurice's having received the Sacrament with his wife, Mr. H. writes to me,—"His joining Mrs. M. in the Sacrament, inconsistent as it may and does appear certainly, does not prove any relinquishment of sentiments entertained by him in earlier life. When I last called *(since his loss)*, I found him as ardent and warm as ever in the interest he took in the prosperity of the Unitarian chapel and schools here. His memory and intellect were visibly failing him in the last year or two of his life."

Mr. M. was, as I have said, a devout man, and I do not wonder that in his closing days his prayers abounded in expressions of gratitude for the gift of the Saviour, and in allusion to that Saviour's life of sacrifice and death on Calvary; but surely Mr. Gell must have been led into error when, in describing Mr. Maurice's prayers, he says, "Nor did he *ever* fail to bring that holy name explicitly forward in one way or the other, as acknowledging the Godhead of Christ." What, in *every* prayer? Such is not the phraseology of a great number of the prayers of Mr. Gell's own Church, nor of the prayers of Trinitarians generally, nor can I believe it, under any change of opinion, to have been the unvarying phraseology of my friend. From the fact mentioned by Mr. Gell, that he "never heard Mr. Maurice speak of his earlier opinions," it would appear that no especial confidence subsisted towards himself.

Nor should even prayer to Christ or mention of the atonement be considered as sufficient proofs of Mr. Maurice's change to Trinitarianism, as there are some Unitarians who defend addresses to Christ (unscriptural as they appear to me), and the doctrine of the atonement (not the vicarious sacrifice) is held in every varying shade of opinion by Unitarians.

We must caution Mr. Gell to bear in mind, while forming his opinion of Mr. Maurice's religious faith, his peculiar characteristics, and to remember that it was at all times his practice to join in worship with any body of orthodox persons when he was unable by distance to worship with Unitarians,—a practice on which I have taken occasion to animadvert, I trust with becoming courtesy. I have been informed that the aged Vicar of Lowestoft, who knew Mr. Maurice well, has said, that it could not be inferred from Mr. Maurice's preaching, unless it were negatively, what were his distinctive views. And I have myself heard Mr. Bullar (a Trinitarian), on whose ministry he regularly attended at Southampton, say, that he never on any single occasion knew him to express dissent from any doctrine he preached. Mr. Gell might, therefore, judging from the past, when Mr. Maurice was avowedly a Unitarian, have offered in his presence prayers to Christ, or have acknowledged the Godhead of Christ, and might have expressed very strong opinions on the atonement, and yet Mr. Maurice might not, though still a Unitarian, have appeared to dissent.

I do not doubt Mr. Gell's belief that Mr. Maurice died a Trinitarian; but Mr. Gell, and those who think with him, must forgive me if I affirm that he was not likely to understand—that the Trinitarian seldom does understand—the Unitarian Christian's natural, unconstrained expressions of grateful, reverent love towards the holy Redeemer, the Saviour, the beloved Son of God, who "gave himself for us," that he might redeem us to God by his blood. He does not understand that we do believe that, in the Scripture sense, "God was in Christ reconciling the

world unto himself," and therefore it is that we are so often misrepresented.

I remember it was asserted of a connection of my own, a young man in the prime of life and in the unquestioned strength of mental vigour, though physically sinking in consumption, that he had changed his faith; and this although the Trinitarian friends in whose house he died held no such hope,—although at his own request two Unitarian ministers (Rev. B. Mardon and Rev. J. C. Means) at that very time had visited him, that at their hands he might take the Supper of his Lord.

I have by me the letter of a clergyman addressed to a Unitarian, in which he writes,—"In your *expressions* I entirely concur, but I have no doubt that if we were to come to explanations of those expressions, we should widely differ." This clergyman had sufficient reason to believe that his correspondent was a decided Unitarian; but if those very expressions which were true to Scripture and to the Unitarian's faith had occurred when health was failing or upon the bed of death, when explanations are with difficulty given, then might the clergyman of whom I speak have added another instance to those misconceptions which we have almost learned to expect.

If actual change of religious opinion occurred in the Rev. Michael Maurice under direct influence at *fourscore years and eight*, on such change little stress should be laid. I have shewn that to advanced age he was a Unitarian. He was nearly eighty when, in November, 1846, in the unexpected absence of the minister of the New Gravel-Pit chapel, Hackney, the congregation being about to disperse, their attention was directed to his venerable form as he arose and conducted a short but impressive service. We should bear in mind that at Notting Hill, where Mr. Maurice resided, there was no Unitarian chapel until the last spring, when a Free Christian Church was opened by Dr. Pope.

While expressing my warm, affectionate remembrance for the Rev. Michael Maurice, and my admiration for his philanthropy, I still would not withdraw a single comment on the many evils arising from his want of religious consistency; and one which now forces itself upon me is, that it has left his death-bed testimony to important truth of such uncertain cast. Far from militating against, it the rather gives force to, the motives which impelled me to the task of bringing forward his failing,—the *seeming* union with those who differ from us, the absence of frank and manly expression of that which to us is truth, "the truth as it is in Jesus."

EDMUND KELL.

P.S. I have not touched on the subject of the Southampton Bible Society. On further inquiry, Mr. Gell will find that I was *strictly* correct.

Southampton, Aug. 11, 1855.

TOLERANCE AND ASCENDANCY.

IT is one thing to love a brother, to bear with and love a person of different judgment in matters of religion; and another thing to have anybody so far set in the saddle on that account as to have all the rest of his brethren at mercy.—*Carlyle's Cromwell*, II. 200.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Reminiscences of the University, Town and County of Cambridge, from the Year 1780. By the late Henry Gunning, M.A., Christ's College; Senior Esquire Bedell. 2 vols. 8vo. London—George Bell.

These are the amusing reminiscences of an octogenarian lately deceased, and contain a remarkable picture of the habits, prevalent sentiments and morals, which for more than half a century the writer noted in one of our national seats of learning. These are not the bitter effusions of a satirist, nor the invectives of one writing under the rankling influences of disappointment; but the amusing gossip of a man of the world, who has aimed at nothing very high, but has achieved the success he sought, and puts down, towards the close of an easy, epicurean kind of life, his recollections of the more remarkable of his associates. The story of his own life is soon told. Descended from a race of divines, of whom the most distinguished was Bishop Gunning of the seventeenth century,* he studied first at a grammar-school at Ely, then at Sleaford, in Lincolnshire, and entered the University of Cambridge as a sizar at Christ's College. Satisfying himself at first with very moderate habits of study, he contrived to pass respectable examinations, and eventually, increasing in his diligence, took his Bachelor's degree with honours, being bracketed, with two others, as third wrangler. Being too young to be ordained, and the circumstances of his father, a clergyman with a very large family, not being easy, Henry Gunning took a tutorship in a family in Herefordshire, and afterwards returned to the University as the tutor of his pupils. His father died suddenly, leaving him, then in his twenty-first year, the eldest of eight children. While discharging the duties of a College tutor, a vacancy occurred in one of the University offices, the Esquire Bedell; he stood for it, and carried it by a large majority. Contenting himself with the promotions which time brought about, and which eventually made him the Senior Esquire Bedell, he continued to the close of his life, last year, to reside in the University. He never took orders, and generally sided with the Whig party in the University. His official position and his personal popularity enabled him to form a good judgment of University life and morals. He saw the men, great and small, as they appeared to their associates and equals.

The general impression which the Reminiscences of this experienced University man produce on the mind, is of wonder that a system so ill-conducted, with such an utter disregard to morals, in which at the best

* Dr. Peter Gunning, Master of St. John's College, and after the Restoration successively Bishop of Chichester and Ely, was the friend of Evelyn, and is repeatedly mentioned by him and Pepys. When Pepys was in humble circumstances, dining in his garret off the remains of a turkey dressed by the hands of his wife, Gunning was honestly upholding the Church and Episcopacy, and read the Liturgy and preached in his chapel at Exeter House. He it was who, when the Westminster Assembly were persecuting John Biddle, sought to win him back to orthodoxy by personal visits and calm arguments. Burnet, while denying Gunning's claim to the praise of good judgment, admits that he was a man of very great reading, and a very sincere and honest man. High praise for an ecclesiastic who had promotion in the Court of Charles II.! He was the author of the beautiful Collect in the Book of Common Prayer for "all sorts and conditions of men."

mere appearances were consulted, should not have produced worse results. Suppose a foreigner, utterly unacquainted with English habits, had this picture of manners placed before him, and after being made familiar with all the details of idleness, sloth and sensuality, which they divulge, were told that this, or something like it, was the discipline through which a large proportion of the clergy of England enjoying benefices during the half-century recently brought to a close have passed, what feelings but incredulity and amazement would fill his mind!

A sample or two will best illustrate Mr. Gunning's ideas of University morals. Here is one of his colleagues:

"By the death of Dawes, Beverley had become Senior Bedell. He took his Bachelor's degree at Christ's College in 1767; his name is not to be found on either Tripos; and if his own account of himself is to be believed, (and perhaps *in this instance* his word may be taken,) he was one of the most profligate men in the University. He was the son of a wine-merchant at Norwich, and used to relate, with great glee, the mode in which he disposed of a pipe of port for his father, by persuading him that he was so popular amongst the Undergraduates, that he could dispose of a pipe amongst his own friends without the least difficulty. Whether he succeeded in selling the wine, I know not; but he never failed to add, that he took effectual care that none of the money should ever reach his father.

"When Beverley first became a candidate for the bedellship, he was approved by Mr. Richard Hey of Magdalen College, a man of high character and reputation; he had been third Wrangler and Senior Medallist in 1768. Beverley succeeded through the influence of Lord Sandwich, who had made himself very popular in the county and in the University, by giving a series of splendid entertainments at Christmas whilst at Hinchinbrook Castle.

"Beverley married early, and had a numerous family; he lived in a most extravagant manner, and was always in pecuniary difficulties. To extricate himself from them he had a variety of expedients; he would dispose of musical instruments and choice flowers (of which he really had a fine collection) at a very high price, by means of a *lottery*, to obtain subscriptions for which he and his friends canvassed the members of the University. Beverley would often boast of his great intimacy with the 'Heads of Houses,' of which he used to give the following proof, that, with the exception of two or three, he had borrowed money of them all, in sums varying from ten guineas to a hundred; and as they well knew he could never repay them, the lending him money was a proof of their personal regard for him. Upon one occasion, he evaded the just demands of a poor butcher by pleading the statute of limitations. The public were so fully satisfied of the justice of the demand, that a subscription was raised for the claimant; and Dr. Glyn, who told me the story, added, 'I have never spoken to the scoundrel since.'"—I. 146, 147.

"Beverley's popularity amongst the Heads was increased by his conduct respecting Frend's trial, where he acted as, and received the emoluments of, a Proctor of the Court; and he persuaded many that had it not been for his strenuous exertions, and superior knowledge regarding the forms of proceeding, the ends of justice would have been defeated, and Frend obtained a triumph. But what, perhaps, rendered Beverley more especially popular, was the reputation he possessed of being a great favourite with the First Lord of the Admiralty, who had appointed him Commissioner and Comptroller of an office in Greenwich Hospital.

"During the Christmas holidays, his Lordship was in the habit of giving a series of splendid entertainments at Hinchinbrook Castle, where Beverley was supposed to be master of the revels. He possessed considerable musical talents, and played on the double-bass, an instrument on which, at that time, there were but few professors. At the concerts given on these occasions, the musical talents of Joah Bates, then a scholar at King's, and afterwards the

celebrated conductor of the concerts in Westminster Abbey in commemoration of Handel, first became known.

"Beverley wished it to be understood that he was always consulted by Lord Sandwich, as to what members of the University should be invited to those parties, at which the Prince of Wales and many of the most distinguished men of the day were to be present; and he, at the same time, hinted very broadly that there *was a way* to obtain his recommendation. In a subsequent dispute between him and Harwood about money matters, Beverley asserted that twenty guineas, which he acknowledged to have received from Harwood, was not lent, but given as a gratuity for procuring him invitations to Hinchinbrook. It was well known that Beverley was always in difficulties, and that he never missed the opportunity of getting money from any available source. He had taken repeated advantage of Dr. Jowett's enthusiasm for music, by borrowing sums of money which he never repaid. The Doctor at last, when much pressed for the further loan of ten guineas, refused to lend it unless the double-bass was pledged as security. This was agreed to, and Beverley was allowed the use of it at musical entertainments, the Doctor's servants being in attendance to carry it back to Trinity Hall, at the termination of the concert.

"Notwithstanding Beverley's character being so well known, it was quite clear that for many years he carried on the business of the University in the Senate-house, in perfect contempt of the statutes and of its approved usages." I. 150—152.

An anecdote given in connection with the Vice-Chancellorship of Dr. Milner, will illustrate the scriptural knowledge of this University officer:

"During Milner's first or second Vice-Chancellorship (I don't recollect which) the Stadtholder came to Cambridge. The Vice-Chancellor and the Heads waited upon him at the Rose, attended him to St. Mary's Church, and accompanied him back to his inn. When we were all assembled at the Rose, the Stadtholder *unfortunately* asked whence the text was taken. As we were none of us very clear on that subject, we held our tongues, but Beverley, with his usual intrepidity, answered, 'It was from the second Epistle of Jude.' 'There is but one Epistle,' said the Stadtholder.—'Certainly not,' said Beverley, 'I intended to have said the second chapter!'—'Unfortunately,' said his Serene Highness, 'there is but one chapter!' Beverley's mistakes quickly spread through the University, and were set to music by some member of the Huntingdonshire Catch-Club. The words were as follows:—

> 'Fie, Beverley, fie: your Biblical lie
> Was vastly too forward and rude;
> For the future be shy, nor dare to reply,
> But remember the Second of Jude!'"—I. 273.

No one could visit Cambridge a few years ago without becoming acquainted with the impudent and importunate eccentricities of "Jemmy Gordon." Here are some particulars of his history. The result in this case was all that might be anticipated from University habits.

"It was at the election in the summer of this year that Jemmy Gordon (afterwards a well-known character in the University) made his first appearance in the Senate-House. His father was Chapel Clerk at Trinity, and a man of some property; he gave his son a good classical education, and afterwards articled him to a respectable attorney by the name of Haggerstone. At the expiration of his articles, he commenced practice in Freeschool Lane, in the house which ought to have been occupied by the Master of the Perse School, but which was at that time (through the neglect of the Trustees) let to the highest bidder: here he led an expensive and profligate life."—I. 190, 191.

"Jemmy had at that time a cousin of the name of Goode, who resided for a few terms at Trinity Hall; he had been well educated, and was a remark-

ably good-looking man, but his habits were low and profligate. I do not recollect ever to have met him in a party at Trinity Hall, or any other College; he had, however, his friends in the University, and to all those parties his cousin Jemmy was always a welcome guest, for he sang a good song, told a good story, had Horace at his fingers' ends, and was in the habit of quoting him with considerable effect.

"Though Gordon realized but little by his profession, yet, as his father made him a handsome allowance, he used to give in his turn some very jovial entertainments at his own house; but his extravagance knew no bounds, and he was, after a time, under the necessity of going into cheap and obscure lodgings; for his means would not enable him to gratify his extraordinary fondness for wine and liquor. He was then at the service of any man who thought proper to send him an invitation to entertain his friends, and to get very drunk by way of recompense. Dressed in a huge cocked-hat, and the tarnished uniform of a general or an admiral, (for Jemmy was *not too proud* to accept any article of apparel that was occasionally given to him from an old-clothes shop,) he was to be heard about the streets, frequently until daylight, roaring out scraps of songs or quoting fragments of poetry. A relation dying left him a guinea a-week, to be paid weekly, but it was soon deeply mortgaged. Spending every shilling he could get in liquor, he at length became so shabby and so dirty, that no one would suffer him to enter his rooms. As he was not ashamed to beg, he applied to every person he met, and raised money in that way; some giving because they believed him to be in distress; others because they were afraid of him; for if any person (no matter what his rank or position in Town or University might be) had been guilty of any indiscretion, Jemmy would be sure to proclaim it aloud whenever he met him. As he was known to have a very great objection to fighting, many men whom he insulted preferred breaking his head to giving him half-a-crown, but these persons Jemmy contrived to render ultimately his most profitable customers; so that it might be said of him, as of the Grecian orator, Ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος οὐ κεφαλὴν ἀλλὰ πρόσοδον κέκτηται.

"Passing through Trinity College one day, he saw the Bishop of Bristol walking backwards and forwards in front of his Lodge. Gordon accosted him in his usual strain, 'I hope, my Lord, you will give me a shilling!' to this his Lordship replied, 'If you can find me a greater scoundrel than yourself, I will give you half-a-crown.' Jemmy made his bow, and shortly after meeting Beverley, said, 'Have you seen a messenger from the Bishop of Bristol, who is seeking you everywhere, as his Lordship wishes to see you on particular business?' Beverley thanked him for his information, and hastened to Trinity, Jemmy following him at no great distance. 'I understand you are wishing to see me, my Lord,' said Beverley, addressing the Bishop; to which the latter replied, 'You have been misinformed, Mr. Beverley.' At that moment Jemmy joined them, and taking off his hat most respectfully, said, 'I think, my Lord, I am entitled to the half-crown!' The next time the Bishop met Jemmy, he took an opportunity of proving to him that there was *no great difference* of opinion between them respecting Mr. Beverley." I. 192—195.

Another of Gunning's contemporaries and friends, who ran through at Cambridge a fine estate of about £1500 a-year, was Thomas Adkin, of Corpus, who took his B.A. degree in 1782. When he had "spent all," he was advised to turn his thoughts to the Church, in which, having good Whig connections, it was thought he might rise to hold good preferment. This was the awkward result, as told by himself:

"Amongst other things he told us that, in order to relieve him from his pecuniary difficulties, and to give him a better income, numerous suggestions were made to him; but his attention was more particularly directed to the Church. He decided on following this advice; a title was procured without

difficulty; and he detailed, with much humour, the steps taken by his powerful friends to enable him to pass his examination. With the Chaplain he passed muster, and with his assistance was able to construe three or four verses, which he said it was *probable* he would be required to do by the Bishop. 'His lordship, putting a Testament into my hand,' said Tom, 'pointed out a passage in one of the Gospels, consisting of the three verses I had learned. I construed two verses most successfully, when, unfortunately, I dropped the book; and though I construed the remaining verse equally well, as ill luck would have it, I did not find the right chapter on re-opening the book, which the Bishop perceiving, recommended me to come better prepared at his next ordination. Thus,' added he, 'perished all my hopes of preferment in the Church, owing, not to my ignorance, but to my awkwardness; for, had it not been for this misfortune, I should undoubtedly have been an *Irish Bishop*." I. 67, 68.

Here we have some account of one of the clerical upholders of Joanna Southcote:

"Another extraordinary character of the time I am describing was Thomas Philip Foley, who took his Master's degree in 1782. He was Fellow of Jesus, and well known in the University as the handsome Foley; he was cousin to Lord Foley, and was possessed of some private fortune. His habits were gay and dissipated; he spent much time in London, and was frequently seen in public places in a scarlet coat, which at that time was the fashionable colour in the metropolis, and particularly affected by men of the University, for no other reason, that I am aware of, than its being denounced by our statutes. He obtained a college living very early. I well recollect his answer to me when I congratulated him upon his unexpected good fortune, as his predecessor had died so young a man. 'Sir,' he replied, 'he was a man of my own years, but was *providentially* attacked with gout in his stomach, and died before he could have medical attendance.' He did not long hold the living, but took a more valuable one in the gift of his own family. He afterwards became—what seemed to many incredible—a devoted follower of Joanna Southcote. I read many letters he wrote to his friend Mathew on the subject, in which he laboured most earnestly to convert him, and always expressed a wish that the letters should be shown to me. From a recollection of them, I am able to give the following details relative to Foley's conversion. He was dining with a gay party in London, when the conversation turned upon this woman's pretensions to inspiration. All agreed she was the greatest of impostors; and it was voted an excellent joke to call upon her, and make themselves merry at her expense. They accordingly breakfasted together next morning, when it was decided that Foley should be spokesman; that they should pretend to have faith in her revelations, and intimate that their visit was for the express purpose of consulting her. She received them very courteously, listened with attention to all that was said, and then assuming a serious and dignified manner, replied in the following words:—'I am quite aware that the object of your visit is to hold me up to mockery and derision, but I shall be able to convince the most sceptical amongst you that I am entitled to assume the character I profess. When you determined last evening upon this visit, there were ten of you present, but there are now only nine.' 'This,' said Foley, in his letter to Mathew, 'was quite correct, and I turned upon my companions a look of astonishment. She then continued: 'You know not the cause of his absence, but I can inform you. He became very ill soon after he reached home; he is much worse this morning, and will not leave the bed on which he now lies but as a corpse—an event not far distant.' She then with her hand motioned us to withdraw. On leaving her apartment, some were disposed to laugh heartily at what they had seen and heard; but for myself, I confess that her words had made a deep impression, and I hastened to the house of my friend. In a hurried manner, I inquired if he were at home, and was informed by the servant that his master was

dangerously ill, having been suddenly attacked the previous night. I hastened immediately to his bedside, and scarcely left him during the few days that he lived. After his funeral, I again sought an interview with Joanna Southcote, and professed myself a convert.' In many subsequent letters he related events equally extraordinary, and expressed his firm belief that she was divinely inspired; he renewed his entreaties to Mathew 'to listen to the truth, and to be of the number who were sealed.'

"Foley had at this time become her secretary, and was devoting himself with uncommon zeal to increase the number of her disciples."—I. 69—71.

Scattered through these volumes we have some amusing references to Dr. Farmer, the writer on the Learning of Shakespeare, a man who ought to have done something more than this, for he was an able and a learned man. He is described as an "inveterate Tory," but a strictly honest and disinterested man.

"He had a deep-rooted dislike of Dissenters, whom he was most anxious to exclude from office, because he *conscientiously* believed them to be disaffected to the existing Government; but to those men whom he believed to be sincere and disinterested in their opinions (however contrary to his own), he always behaved with fairness and impartiality. To me he was ever particularly kind, and never failed inviting me to the college feasts, which were numerous, and most strictly observed. He would sometimes make allusion, in a jocular manner, to my well-known political opinions; thus in taking up his pipe, he would balance it on his finger, and when it turned over he would say, 'This is a Whig pipe, Master Gunning; it has got a twist the wrong way.' For many years before he was elected to the Mastership he had the Curacy of Swavesey (about nine miles distant), where he made a point of attending in all weathers. He began the service punctually at the appointed time, and gave a plain, practical sermon, strongly enforcing some moral duty. After service he chatted most affably with his congregation, and never failed to send some small present to such of his poor parishioners as had been kept from church through illness. After morning service he repaired to the public-house, where a mutton-chop and potatoes were soon set before him: these were quickly despatched, and immediately after the removal of the cloth, Mr. Dobson (his Churchwarden) and one or two of the principal farmers, made their appearance, to whom he invariably said, 'I am going to read prayers, but shall be back by the time you have made the punch.' Occasionally another farmer accompanied him from church, when pipes and tobacco were in requisition until six o'clock. *Taffy* was then led to the door, and he conveyed his master to his rooms by half-past seven; here he found his slippers and night-cap, and taking possession of his elbow-chair, he slept till his bed-maker aroused him at nine o'clock, when resuming his wig he started for the *Parlour*, where the Fellows were in the habit of assembling on a Sunday evening."—I. 177—179.

This anecdote will not inspire us with a very lofty idea of the spiritual influences communicated through the clergy of Cambridge during the last century to the yeomen of the parishes in which were College livings; but Mr. Gunning distinctly tells us that in those days Dr. Farmer's parish was better served than many others:

"It is probable, from what I have been relating of Farmer, that an unfavourable opinion may be formed of him as a country curate; but the truth is, that most of the churches within ten miles of Cambridge were served by Fellows of colleges. In some cases the curate hastened back to dine in hall; there were others who undertook two or three services; so that, upon the whole, few parishes were so well satisfied with their pastor as Swavesey."—I. 180.

Mr. Gunning gives a long account of the strange proceedings in 1793 against Mr. William Frend, who was at that time a tutor of Jesus Col-

lege. For publishing a pamphlet, entitled, "Union and Peace Recommended," and which in those evil Tory days was thought to inculcate Jacobin politics, he was prosecuted in the Court of the Vice-Chancellor, the noted and intolerant Dr. Isaac Milner. An attempt was made to extort evidence against Frend from the Rev. Herbert Marsh, a near relation and a confidential friend of the accused, one indeed with whom, as he stated, he had been educated from his childhood. Marsh protested against being dragged forward against a friend and relation, and was then reluctantly excused.

"Shortly after this Mr. Marsh determined to reside at Leipsic, and he acted prudently in so doing; for such was the rancour of Frend's prosecutors, that they calumniated every person who was in any manner connected with him; and Mr. Marsh, who was considered as the successor of Professor Mainwaring, would have had no chance of obtaining that lucrative Professorship which was in the gift of Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity only. During his residence in Germany, he published in the German language a pamphlet to prove that the French were the aggressors in the war with this country. It was a very able performance, and so acceptable to the Minister, that he gave him a pension of 500*l.* per annum, which he held till he obtained a Bishoprick."—I. 293, 294.

Against all justice, Frend was convicted and banished from the University. On these proceedings, Mr. Gunning, while strongly disapproving of Mr. F.'s opinions and remarks respecting the "solemn rites and ceremonies of our Church," thus expresses his judgment, and adds a curious anecdote respecting Coleridge:

"To an attentive observer of the proceedings in the Vice-Chancellor's Court, it was apparent from the first, that the Vice-Chancellor was determined to convict, otherwise the blunders of the Promoter were so gross and so palpable, that he must have been defeated. In the examination of witnesses, the forms established in courts of justice were constantly violated, and every objection brought forward by Frend, whether founded on the statutes of the University, or on the maxims of the civil law, were overruled by Dr. Milner.

"The Undergraduates were unanimous in favour of Mr. Frend, and every satirical remark reflecting upon the conduct and motives of his prosecutors was vociferously applauded. At length the Court desired the Proctors to interfere. Mr. Farish, the Senior Proctor, having marked one man who had particularly distinguished himself by applauding, and noted his position in the gallery, selected him as a fit subject for punishment. He went into the gallery, and having previously ascertained the exact situation of the culprit, he touched a person, whom he supposed to be the same, on the shoulder, and asked him his name and college. The person thus addressed assured him that he had been perfectly quiet. Farish replied, 'I have been watching you for a long time, and have seen you repeatedly clapping your hands.' 'I wish this was possible,' said the man, and turning round, exhibited an arm so deformed that his hands could not by any possibility be brought together: this exculpation was received with repeated rounds of applause, which continued for some minutes. The name of the young man was Charnock, and his college Clare Hall; the real culprit was S. T. Coleridge, of Jesus College, who having observed that the Proctor had noticed him, and was coming into the gallery, turned round to the person who was standing behind him, and made an offer of changing places, which was gladly accepted by the unsuspecting man. Coleridge immediately retreated, and mixing with the crowd, entirely escaped suspicion. This conduct on the part of Coleridge was severely censured by the Undergraduates, as it was quite clear that, to escape punishment himself, he would have subjected an innocent man to rustication or expulsion."—I. 298—300.

Amongst the Liberals of whom mention is made in this volume, are Dr. Parr, Bishop Watson, Horne Tooke and Felix Vaughan.

The anecdotes which follow of Robert Robinson must close our extracts from these amusing volumes.

"A very celebrated Dissenting preacher, by the name of Robinson, was officiating in the chapel in St. Andrew's Street. Upon one occasion when he was preaching he dropped the immediate subject of his discourse, and made this observation: 'It is a rule with me never to use an expression which the humblest of my hearers cannot understand. I have just made use of the term *ocular demonstration;* I will explain it to you. I look into the table-pew, and *I see* a young man, in a blue coat and scarlet waistcoat, *fast asleep.*' On pronouncing the last two words, he raised his voice considerably, and all eyes being attracted to the unfortunate sleeper, he added, in a lower tone, 'Of that I have *ocular demonstration.*' He then resumed his discourse in his accustomed manner. The recital of this anecdote brings another to my remembrance, which was related to me by Dr. Rees, who, when staying with his friend Hollick at Whittlesford, accompanied him to Cambridge for the purpose of hearing the Wednesday evening discourse from Robinson. They went to Chesterford to drink tea with him, when Dr. Rees learned, to his great mortification, that a minister from Walden was to officiate that evening; and Robinson added, that as his friend had come from such a distance, he did not feel himself at liberty to put him off preaching. When they met in the vestry, Dr. Rees told him that he had come from Whittlesford for the purpose of hearing Mr. Robinson, and he asked whether he would have any objection to be a hearer instead of a preacher. To this proposition the stranger immediately agreed, and was probably glad to escape the criticism of so learned a man. Robinson requested the Doctor to give him a text, which he declined doing; but, turning to the Walden minister, asked him on what subject he had intended to discourse, and then remarked jocularly to Robinson, 'I think you had better take the same text.' This was unhesitatingly agreed to, Robinson requesting a few minutes for meditation in the vestry while the congregation were singing. Dr. Rees assured me he had never heard him more luminous than on that evening. I wish I could call to mind the text. It was an abstruse passage from the Old Testament, and was to me unintelligible until the Doctor gave me a very able explanation, and also quoted many passages used in illustration by the preacher upon the occasion."—II. 150—152.

The Sabbath; or, an Inquiry into the supposed Obligation of the Sabbaths of the Old Testament. By Sir William Domville, Bart. 8vo. Pp. 271. London—Chapman and Hall. 1855.

It gives us sincere pleasure to announce, that the venerable author of the learned work on the scriptural authority for the observance of the Sabbath, which we noticed last year,* has been enabled to publish its second and concluding volume. This relates to the Old, as the former volume did to the New Testament. It is characterized by the same scrupulous accuracy, and the same full and detailed examination of every text and every argument brought forward in relation to the subject. The author repeats in strong terms his opinions on the great advantages arising from the observance of a seventh day as a day of rest from labour, of devotion and instruction, and of innocent and agreeable recreation, and thus justifies the general practice both of Jews and Christians in all countries and all ages of the world; but he shews at the same time, that this practice, whatever may have been its sanction under the Jewish

* See Christian Reformer, N.S., Vol. X. pp. 566, 567.

dispensation, now rests entirely on grounds of expediency and general utility, not on any express Divine command, or on the authority of the early Christian Church. The following passage from the Preface explains the writer's convictions:

"I have, I trust, succeeded in proving, that the observance of Sunday, as a day of assembling for public worship and religious and moral instruction, is not an institution of divine appointment; but I am, nevertheless, deeply impressed with a conviction of the expediency and utility of its being so observed. This opinion I have in my first volume explicitly declared and strenuously supported. By such an observance of the Sunday the best results, religious, social, and moral, are attainable, and an occasional non-observance of it would not impair its usefulness; whereas, if the institution were of divine appointment, every, even the slightest, neglect of it would be a sin against God, and lie heavy on the conscience. Wide, therefore, is the difference and great the blessing to us, if Sunday observance be of human origin. But whether the source from which it springs be human or divine, there can be no necessity for the exclusion of recreations and amusements on the Sunday in order to render the religious services of that day profitable to piety and good morals; nor can those who contend for this exclusion prove its necessity either by argument or by Scripture precept. In the whole Bible they are able to find only one text which affords them any semblance even of Scripture authority for declaiming against indulging in pleasurable recreation on the day of rest, the Sabbath-day (Isaiah lviii. 13, 14); and that text I have shown to be, upon close examination, nothing to their purpose.

"They who clamour the loudest for a day of rest to the labouring classes are the very persons who at the same time would deny to them on that day the enjoyment of healthy recreation and innocent amusement, thus debarring them throughout their whole lives from all such enjoyment. The labourer cannot indulge in it on the working days, and he must not on the day of rest. Such is the discipline sought to be exercised over the industrious poor, whilst the ultra-Sabbatarian who prescribes it, himself being in affluence, can, if he so incline, luxuriate in all the pleasures of life during six days of the week as a compensation for the severe religious discipline which he imposes upon himself on the seventh."—Pp. viii—x.

Some curious and interesting inquiries are introduced incidentally, such as the question respecting the antiquity and origin of the division of time into weeks, and whether any of the heathen nations have ever observed a Sabbath, or kept a seventh day holy. On these minor topics, as well as on the general argument, the author has bestowed so much careful and dispassionate study, that the work will amply repay the labour of an equally careful perusal, and will satisfy the reader of the impropriety and indeed the impiety of pretending to enforce, under the penalty of disobedience to a Divine command, that pharisaical strictness and austerity on the Lord's-day, upon which certain classes of religious professors insist, but which is alike contrary to the cheerful character of the religion of Moses, and to the rational, liberal, and elevating tone of the pure Gospel of Christ. J. Y.

The Development of the Religious Idea in Judaism, Christianity and Mahomedanism, considered in Twelve Lectures on the History and Purport of Judaism. Delivered in Magdeburg, 1847. By Dr. Ludwig Philippsohn. Translated from the German, with Notes, by Anna Maria Goldsmid. Longman and Co.

The author of the above original work is evidently a rationalistic Jew of learning, ability and candour. The opening Lectures are devoted to

Mosaism and its Corruptions, to Prophetism, the Hagiographia, and the Origin of Talmudism. In relation to the latter, we cannot too frequently allude to the significant fact, that intelligent and reasoning Jews of the present day have established a reformed worship, laying aside the corruptions of tradition, and adhering to Scripture alone. They have also introduced sermons in the vernacular into their synagogues, and other great improvements.

In the seventh Lecture, entitled, "The Relation of Christianity with Judaism," Dr. Philippsohn considers the rise of Christianity as "the effort of the human mind to restore validity to the idea as opposed to the form" of religion; and he goes on to say,—

"This proposition will be fully confirmed by a close observation of Christianity in the early stages of its growth and progress. In its first utterances, Christianity betrays no opposition to the law of Moses, but insists on a spiritual application. * * * Life on earth, according to the Christian system, is a condition of bondage of the immortal spirit, that waits and longs for its enlargement after death. It transmutes finite life out of itself to a sphere beyond—to a life hereafter. It places the standard of human action in the world to come, and measures human action after that ideal standard."

The author marks the growth of the Christian church into its successive forms of Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, and finally the Orthodox Protestant Church. Here the translator states, in a note, that Dr. Philippsohn "omits one important phase, a product of modern times, 'the Unitarian;'" and she adds, "Is not the Christian vessel following the same course as that of Judaism, ascending the stream, till it reaches the fountain of its birth?" The name *Unitarian* may be modern, but the learned author evidently shews that early Christianity and modern Unitarianism are one and the same thing. We cannot make objection to the author's delineation of the religious idea as developed in Christianity on account of its entire separation from its divine Promulgator, because the same may be alleged of his treatment of Mosaism, the divinely-inspired Legislator being equally ignored in the discussion. The work is literally, as its title expresses, the Development of the Religious Idea. In conclusion, we must quote the author's own words respecting the *invention* of the Trinity:

"In so far, then, Christianity was the means by which the diffusion from out of Judaism of the religious idea among mankind, and its victory over heathenism, were achieved. But the human notion of disunion and of a third and mediating power, was too firmly fixed in the minds of men not to re-act upon the religious idea. In the midst, therefore, of the conception of the existence of the One only God as a Unity, soon came to light, in combination with it, that of a threefold Divine existence—a Trinity! Between the Christian dogma and heathenism, there existed, it is true, a clear and substantial difference. The Trinitarian Godhead of Christianity was exclusively and wholly good; whereas in heathenism one of the three divine powers was conceived to be opposed to the other two,—the principle of Evil. Thus far, therefore, Christianity again remained true to the religious idea. Yet it could not wholly emancipate itself from the heathen conception of the principle of Evil. And this reappeared in Christianity, albeit under the form of a being inferior and subject to the Divinity, though ever-present and eternal,—Satan, the Devil, a power to be eventually overcome by the Power Divine, or God. In this again Christianity had become the antagonism of Mosaism—for Mosaism, firstly, emphatically declares the unconditional unity of God and the perfection of God's works; secondly, gives a general refutation to the principle that evil

universally exists, by regarding evil to be a relative condition of the individual. Since Christianity thus sets forth evil as an absolute existence, it necessarily declared man to be subjected to its dominion. Christianity carried with it out of Judaism and subsequently preserved the idea of the creation of man's soul in the image of God."

We could willingly extract much more from these valuable Lectures, in which the author traces all the corruptions of Christianity to the heathen element by which it was surrounded—much that would impress the orthodox mind, if open to conviction from a most impartial judge and subtle critic. Dr. Philippsohn has found a very skilful translator in Miss Goldsmid, who, though differing from him in minor points, yet is one whose taste and learning make her eminently fitted for such a task.

A Guide for the Instruction of Jewish Youth. By Isaac Reggio. Translated by M. Piciotto.

It is not the least remarkable trait of the prevailing interest in the development of the religious idea amongst mankind, that the most ceremonial-loving of our fellow-creatures (the Jews) should be coming forth as advocates of a spiritual religion, and of the necessity of the sanctification and redemption of man.

One good work seems rapidly to succeed the other, and we have lately been gratified by the "Guide for the Instruction of Jewish Youth," by Professor Reggio, of Goritz. The original is in Italian, from which it has been incomparably translated into English by M. Piciotto. It is arranged in a very methodical and striking manner, as it gradually develops the best means of sanctifying the human soul by faith and good works, by inward purity and spiritual aspirations, and thus displays the "whole duty of man." Without lengthened quotations from the Holy Scripture, he gives us the full spirit of the old dispensation, and places before our Jewish youth the evidence and superior influence of revealed over natural religion. Every serious thinker must concur with the author in p. 12, as in using his reason (the divine part of man) he will own that in the Hebrew laws "there are special prescriptions obligatory only on those to whom they were addressed." There are many passages which almost persuade us they are written by a Christian, and now that the Jewish people of Europe mingle with those whose minds have received the good seed of the last divine revelation, they reap the benefit thereof almost unconsciously. And it is a notable circumstance that no mention is now made in the works of enlightened Jews of an *expected* Messiah. Those passages of holy writ believed to be prophetic, time has confuted, and all *their* prophecies of the "coming event" have failed. They begin to *feel* that a great Prophet has already risen amongst them. They, however, still dwell upon their redemption, though not upon their return to the Holy Land. Some of the wisest amongst them think any attempt to restore the dignity of the remnant of the Jews at Jerusalem as vain and futile. They are in a most degraded and immoral state. Their persecution and consequent exclusion have cut off all chance of improvement. A philanthropic attempt is being made to improve their social condition, but emigration and dispersion are believed to be the only effectual means for so desirable an end. We cannot forbear transcribing a short passage from Reggio's work, to shew how good a guide he may be to many a Christian.

"Respecting man, revelation teaches that he has an immortal soul made in the image of God,—that is, endowed with various spiritual faculties similar in their nature to those of his Maker—therefore susceptible of a progressive perfection, which he will attain by sanctifying himself—that is, by imitating God and carrying out His commands. To that effect God entered into an immediate relation with man, whereby He not only provides for the preservation of mankind, as *He* does for all other things created, but *He* moreover granted him a supernatural assistance to improve his moral condition; and this assistance consists in having made him the recipient of a revelation, by which *He* instructed him in the best rules of life, and declared to him that he will be his Support, his Protector, his Judge, his loving Father, and his Guide towards eternal felicity."

Shall the State Educate the People? A New View of the Question; in Two Letters to Lord Stanley, M.P. By Thomas Wrigley. 8vo. Pp. 32. London—Simpkin, Marshall and Co.

Although we are unable to assent to all Mr. Wrigley's conclusions, we are constrained to thank him for a very ingenious pamphlet. His statement of his plan is calm and clear, and the arguments by which he defends it are equally novel and well expressed. Mr. Wrigley is an earnest friend of education, and is anxious to reach a solution of the difficulties by which the question of national education is beset. He despairs of seeing the plan of a purely secular education carried, thinking that it will be crushed by a combination of all the sects anxious to combine religious with secular instruction. He is opposed to the principle that the State ought to educate the people. He contends (and here no one will disagree with him) that the duty of providing education rests with the parents. Even if the principle of State education were granted, he denies the expediency of entrusting so important a process as the education of the young to the State, which in this country is perpetually exhibiting defective administrative powers. He admits the lamentable indifference shewn by many parents to the intellectual and moral welfare of their offspring, and broadly states his conviction that the cupidity of parents in the lower ranks, sending children to work prematurely, and to such work (irrespective of all consideration for their health and strength) as will produce the largest amount of remuneration, has hitherto interfered with the education of persons of this class, and been the occasion of the interference of the Legislature in shortening the hours of labour, and enforcing some show at least of education. Mr. Wrigley proposes to work upon the cupidity of parents by enforcing, first of all, the abstinence from labour under ten years of age, and next by requiring an educational certificate, to be granted half-yearly by duly qualified Government inspectors after individual examination. This educational certificate is to be the labour charter of the child—any one giving employment without the production of the labour charter to be exposed to a penalty. Mr. Wrigley does not propose that the production of this certificate should be always required. After a certain age, between fifteen and twenty-one, he would allow one whose education had been neglected to offer himself without hindrance or penalty in the labour market; the previous loss and the continued sense of degradation would, he thinks, be sufficient punishment in cases of this kind. Nor would he propose interfering with domestic life. Parents may employ their own children, whether as domestic or farm servants, or in any other

way, without the education certificate. But no exemption is to be permitted where the child is sent out from home in search of employment. Cases of orphanage and destitution of parents, Mr. Wrigley proposes to meet by giving the parish the power to provide, not education, but the means of obtaining it at existing schools. The consequence of such a system, Mr. Wrigley thinks, would be the immediate establishment of schools in connection with all our places of worship.

Against the details of Mr. Wrigley's scheme many objections may be suggested. We fear he greatly underrates the amount of cases of parents willing, but totally unable, to provide education for their children. Where, as in some classes of the town population, and in nearly the whole of the rustic poor, there is a difficulty of supplying food and clothing for all the members of the family, we may be sure that nothing will be left for education. In calling in the aid of the parish in such cases (which, in our own opinion, would be distressingly numerous), Mr. Wrigley gives up the principle of independence of the State. If abandoned for the sake of a very imperfect and almost pitiful result, some will think it might with still greater reason be given up for the sake of securing a sound and universal education of the people.

Again we regret to see men like Mr. Wrigley, holding liberal and comprehensive views, resorting to the aid of sectarian schools in connection with chapels and churches. It is enough that our people are marching under these sectarian banners one day in the week. But to train the young day by day in these sectarian habits of thought, is to perpetuate and increase a confessed evil of English society. If ever the evil is to be eradicated, it must be by training the young of all sects and parties in common schools, and giving them common advantages.

The penalties that would, on Mr. Wrigley's plan, fall on neglected children, would be dreadfully severe—far more severe to themselves than to their parents, the cause of the neglect—and in many cases disastrous to society at large. Supposing that the scheme were vigorously worked and enforced, all neglected children between ten and fifteen years of age would become enrolled amongst the dangerous classes of our population. Deprived by law of all honest employment, they would join the ranks of pilferers and depredators; and when, by the effluxion of time, the ban on their labour powers was removed, bad habits and bad company would have done their work, and unfitted them for honest labour and respectable associates for the rest of their lives.

Like the scheme on which the Privy Council is now working, Mr. Wrigley's scheme appears to us defective in not supplying educational means where they are most wanted. He confesses that he looks mainly to existing religious societies to supply increased educational means; but where few or no such societies exist, or where, as in hundreds of rural districts and in some portions of our cities, those which do exist are bowed down by poverty and can scarcely give bread and raiment to their officiating ministers, what ground is there for expecting that day schools will spring up?

But beyond and before all objections in detail, there appears to us to be one of principle, to which we cannot see any adequate reply. With what justice can any State extort an educational qualification for labour, without first providing, or seeing that others have provided, the means of education? Mr. Wrigley does not contend that as yet the means are provided, and he objects to the State undertaking their provision.

In the Appendix, Mr. Wrigley gives an interesting extract from Mr. Loudon's description of the educational means and social condition of portions of the south of Germany. But in Wurtemberg, to which especial reference is made, there is a system of education universally provided, and no child is ignorant without gross and wilful neglect on the part of parents and guardians.

For our own parts, we do not despair of seeing the system of secular instruction at least partially tried in this country. The question of national education has never yet been taken up boldly and honestly by any Government. The statesman, whoever he be, who shall hereafter settle this great question, will take rank with the best benefactors of his country; but he must approach his work in a very different spirit from all who have hitherto preceded him in the task.

Ragged Schools. A Lecture delivered before the Young Men's Christian Association, in Exeter Hall, Tuesday Evening, Feb. 6, 1855. By the Rev. Thomas Guthrie, D.D.

We cordially recommend this Lecture to general perusal. If it were far less excellent than it is, we should be won to it and its author by the eloquent and beautiful description with which it opens of good John Pounds, to whom Dr. Guthrie assigns the high honour of having been the founder of Ragged Schools. One short extract will shew the spirit which breathes through the whole Lecture:

"I hold it a blessed providence that this cause was neither cradled in palace nor lordly mansion, but began with a man so poor as this humble cobbler; because I think that the higher classes of society have their full share of honours, and I like to see the common people in such noble causes rising to divide these honours with them. I like to see such illustrations of what I know to be the fact, that the 'poor are often the poor's best friends;' and to any one who loves mankind, and honours worth in whomsoever it is found, it is refreshing to see our princes, prelates, dukes, earls, and ladies and gentlemen, proud in such a cause to walk at the old cobbler's heels, while the five hundred whom he saved sing the brave words of Burns,—

'The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
The *man's* the gowd for a' that.'"—P. 5.

The Dangers to the Church of England. A Sermon preached in York Minster, July 25, 1854, *on the Consecration of the Hon. and Rev. H. Powis, D.D., to the Bishopric of Sodor and Man.* By the Hon. and Rev. H. Montagu Villiers, M.A., Rector of St. George, Bloomsbury, and Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's. 8vo. Pp. 23. London—Jas. Nisbet and Co. 1854.

The Hon. Montagu Villiers is one of the most effective preachers who at the present day adorn the pulpit of the Church of England. A handsome person, a sonorous and powerful voice, a clear and popular style, enable him to command and retain the attention of the largest audience, and to communicate to others his own very definite opinions, which, if not always consistent, he evidently grasps with a very tenacious mind. Seldom have his pulpit powers been more effectively put forth, or before a more numerous audience, than in the magnificent Minster of York on the occasion of the impressive ceremonial of the consecration of the new Bishop of Sodor and Man. In common with the worthy Primate of

England before whom he stood, as well as the Suffragan Bishops of Durham, Ripon and Manchester, who sat at his side, Mr. Villiers entertains strong convictions of the essentially Protestant character of the Church of England. He looks, therefore, with natural anxiety and aversion on the Romanizing tendencies of some of the ministers of his Church, and of many amongst the higher classes of its laity, and took the opportunity of this Consecration Sermon to dwell on the dangers to the Church of England which arise from the violation of Protestantism. We have many convictions and sympathies in common with the intelligent and respectable section of the Church so well represented at York on the occasion named above. We think, indeed, that their Protestantism is somewhat hampered by the Articles, and is absolutely outraged by one at least of the Creeds, which they accept as the symbols of their faith. Nevertheless, we are glad to have their company and aid, as long as they choose to travel with us, on the common path of Protestant principles.

Believing that it will interest some of our readers to know how Mr. Villiers and his party regard certain ecclesiastical questions of the past and present day, we make, without further comment, some extracts from his Sermon. They will of course understand that the headings of the extracts are ours, not his.

How the Church of England formerly slept.

"Nothing was heard, indeed, of those religious differences which now exist, but nothing was heard of the conversion of souls. Churches there were, but even then they were insufficient to meet the wants of the population. Romish superstition, which had persuaded men they were buying their own salvation by rearing splendid temples to God, had for a season apparently lost its power, and the constraining love of Christ was at once a feeling and a doctrine unknown. Even when the minds of a few of that remnant which the Lord has according to his own word always preserved, were turned to the importance of the missionary work, this was met by articles of the keenest ridicule, penned by one of the wittiest and cleverest of our then living writers. The public mind was in accordance with these articles. Things were, indeed, quiet and peaceful then, but it was the peace and quiet of the tomb."—P. 8.

How the Church became a mere Political Engine.

"The chief pastors were selected more for their strongly-expressed political feelings than they were for their moral or religious fitness for their holy office. The cry of Church and State was raised for the support of men of political views adverse to the liberties of the people, comparatively indifferent to the education of the young, and who, provided they could exclude the Papist from the councils of the nation, would equally have excluded the Evangelical minister from the pulpits of the Church. The pure and simple truth, as it is revealed to us in the Word of God, formed little or no element in the consideration of ecclesiastical business. The hard-working, house-to-house visiting, school-encouraging, Gospel-preaching, parochial minister was unknown, or, if known, unnoticed. The result of this was, that godliness and true piety were shocked at the coldness and formality in the Church, and most erroneously and most unjustly assumed that Establishments and Formalism were inseparable."—P. 10.

How some Churchmen first tolerate and then embrace Popery.

"It has been said, that such is the advance of civil and religious liberty, that bondage to priestly domination is gone for ever. But what do we see? Popery has reared its head, and, though an injudicious and too hurried a step for a short season seemed to rekindle our old Protestant feelings, Popery still maintains its ground; and men think less and care less, I greatly fear, for the

wide and all-important differences between Romish error and Protestant truth than they did. How far this has been caused or encouraged by events within our Church, I need not stay to argue. I regret, and I do not hesitate to express my regret, that men reared in the liberty of our Protestant Church of England, in the possession and with the full power of using an open Bible, should be found longing for a reunion with a Church which concedes nothing and demands unreserved concession of everything.

"That there are men in our Church of England who, in the face of our Liturgy and in defiance of our Articles, do approximate to Rome is notorious. And what is the consequence? There are intestine divisions,—those very divisions which present that spectacle to which I have referred, and which is so much to be deplored, the spectacle of 'a house divided against itself;' divisions which, if they continue, will either shake the fabric of our Church to its fall, or else tend to the admission of error, and a mutilated Gospel in the place of the faith once delivered to the saints."—Pp. 11, 12.

How the cure is to be found in consistent Protestantism and in honest men to preach it.

"I believe the root of the remedy lies in our adopting and boldly maintaining and carrying out the great principle of the Church of England—THE SUPREMACY AND THE SUFFICIENCY OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES FOR SALVATION; so that 'whatever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an Article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.' (Art. VI.) We owe our divisions to the seeking the application of the '*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*' principle, and thus are led to 'make void the word of God through our traditions.' We are bound to avoid a reserved reception of truth on the one hand, as we are to reject inferential additions on the other. We want honest men. We can reason with, we can act with, no others. We want, I say, men honestly to ask, 'What saith the Scripture?' We want to make the Word of God the test for poisons for the soul, just as the chemist uses his chemical tests to discover the poisons for the body. For myself, I am convinced that what the Church of England teaches is scriptural; but I feel it is not by appealing to the standards of the Church we shall convince men's minds. We may expel from the Church men who refuse to fight her battles, while they do not refuse to receive her pay: but we shall not convince *their minds* except by that unerring test, the written Word of God. The Church of England, in the Article I have quoted, authorizes this principle. If we neglect this, we shall continue to fight with shadows, and the substance of true piety will be lost."—Pp. 19, 20.

Eternal Salvation not dependent on Correctness of Belief. A Sermon preached at Essex-Street Chapel, London, before the Unitarian Association (1844). By William Gaskell, M.A. Second Edition. 1855.

THE author of this well-reasoned and powerful Sermon says in the Preface of this new and cheap edition, that "in dealing with Orthodoxy on the one hand, and with Secularism on the other, further experience has only served to deepen the conviction under which the Discourse was written, of the injury done to the cause of Christian truth and Christian charity by the idea which it seeks to uproot." Would that all who have recently read Mr. Holyoake's denunciations of the Saviour, uttered and since penned in reply to the Unitarian lectures to the Secularists, could be induced to read this vindication of the gospel of Christ from the miserable narrowness which orthodox teachers ascribe to it, and for which Infidelity in its most active form denounces the mild and benignant religion of the Son of Man!

INTELLIGENCE.

FREE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, KENTISH TOWN.

On the 5th of July, the Free Christian Church, Kentish Town, was dedicated to the worship of the One God, the Father, and to the teaching of the truth as it is in Jesus. The Rev. W. Forster, the minister, preached in the morning and evening. The congregations were large, respectable and deeply interested. Every one seemed to be greatly pleased with the beauty of the church. There was a cold collation in the room where the congregation had worshiped during the last two years. The Rev. John James Tayler presided on the occasion. After an excellent dinner, the company was addressed by the Chairman, by the Revds. Thomas Madge, E. Tagart, Dr. Sadler, Dr. Harrison, Dr. Pope, Henry Solly, H. Hutton, W. Forster, and by E. Field, Esq. On the following Sunday the dedication services were resumed. The audiences were overflowing.

The site on which the building is erected is a parallellogram, 100 feet by 65, bounded on all sides by the gardens of the surrounding houses. The only approach is from the Clarence Road, by an avenue 15 feet wide and 100 feet long, communicating with the parallellogram at one angle. The building is planned so as to be capable of future extension on the ground. It at present consists of a nave 69 ft. by 25 ft. 6 in., and one aisle 65 ft. by 11 ft. 6 in. The nave is terminated by an apse, semi-octagon in form, 18 ft. by 13 ft. 6 in., from which the minister's small robing room is entered. An organ chamber also communicates with the nave. Under the far end of the aisle is placed the heating-apparatus chamber, &c., vaulted in brick, and approached only from the exterior. The style of the building is early English; the general principles endeavoured to be carried out are the undisguised employment of simple and inexpensive materials, compatible with the requirements and the means at the disposal of the Committee. The entrance from the Clarence Road is under a gateway of somewhat large proportions, of red bricks with stone dressings, surmounted by a stone cross. From the gateway, a paved footway conducts to the principal doorway, upon which the greatest amount of ornamentation has been lavished; this communicates with the aisle by a lobby and folding-doors. The nave and aisle are separated by a row of clustered pillars supporting lofty lancet arches. The church is lofty, the height from the floor to the summit of the roof being 54 feet. The roofs are open, of timber stained. The walls internally are faced with white bricks, with stone interspersed, adorned with bands, on which are painted in old letters suitable texts. The floor is paved with red and blue tiles. The benches are open and moveable, with carpeted seats. The apse is richly ornamented; the window therein is of stained glass. The roof is painted blue, espangled with gold stars, and writing and scrolls ornament the walls. The reredos is covered with Swiss tiles; the floor of inlaid Parian cement. The table is of stone, with panels of glass Mosaic. The stone carving also deserves notice. Suspended from the ceiling hangs a "corona lucis" of seven jets. There are several stained-glass windows in the nave, placed there by the bounty of various members of the congregation, and also a clock, presented to the church by Mr. Short, of Mark Lane. Much of the carving remains to be done. The pulpit is of stone, beautifully carved, and surrounded by the four evangelists, supported on corbels. The centre panel contains the cross, around which is inscribed, "Preach the word." The exterior is chiefly of brick, the principal front being of red brick with stone dressings, and the others of stocks and red bricks. The roofs are covered with slates, that of the nave surmounted by a crested ridge of red tiles. Messrs. Wetten and Harris are the architects; Mr. Batterbury the contractor. The organ was built by Mr. Parsons.

It has not yet been ascertained exactly what the church will cost. It cannot be less, including the organ and all extras, than £4200. There will be a debt of £800 or £1000. This is a large sum for a young congregation to raise and support its own institutions. The success of the experiment will be seriously checked by this pecuniary liability. All efforts to found Schools, establish a Domestic Mission, and employ other means to instruct the neighbourhood, must be for a time suspended. This is much to be regretted, as there is now a spirit of inquiry abroad which might be turned to good account. The church at present holds nearly 600

persons; with galleries, it would seat 800; should the second aisle ever be needed, it would then comfortably accommodate 1000.

STOURBRIDGE.

The seventieth anniversary of the establishment of Sunday-schools in connection with the Presbyterian chapel at Stourbridge, was held on Sunday, Aug. 12. The sermon was preached by the Rev. John Dendy, B.A., minister of the chapel. At the close of the service, upwards of £30 was collected in aid of the school funds.—On Monday, the annual meeting of the members of the congregation and their neighbours was held in the Corn Exchange, which was tastefully decorated for the occasion. More than 350 persons assembled. The admirable arrangements of the Committee, and the courteous attention of the gentlemen who for the nonce discharged the duties of waiters, contributed largely to the comfort and enjoyment of the ample provision of tea, coffee, &c., provided. Yate Lee, Esq., of Kinver, ably discharged the duties of Chairman, and the meeting was addressed on various subjects of great interest by Dr. Beard (Manchester), Rev. J. Gow (Cheltenham), Rev. Edward Parry (Kidderminster), Rev. John Dendy, Rev. W. M'Keen, Robert Scott, Esq., Rev. Thomas Carter (London), Mr. Akroyd, and other gentlemen. Mr. Simms, Jun., ably presided at the pianoforte, and a variety of glees were admirably sung by the members of the choir.—On the following Tuesday, the district meeting of ministers was held at Stourbridge. The service was introduced by the Rev. Edward Parry, of Kidderminster, and an admirable discourse was delivered by the Rev. Charles Clarke, of Birmingham. The following ministers and gentlemen were afterwards entertained by the hospitality of Robert Scott, Esq.:—Revds. Bache, Beard, Bowen, Carter, Clarke, Dendy, Howse, Gow, Jones, Kenrick, M'Dougal, M'Keen, M'Kee, Myers, Parry, Robertson, and Mr. Akroyd.

WARWICKSHIRE UNITARIAN TRACT SOCIETY.

The forty-ninth annual general meeting of this Society was held in the High-Street chapel, Shrewsbury, on Wednesday, Aug. 22nd. The religious service was introduced by the Rev. John Dendy, of Stourbridge, and the Rev. Samuel Martin, of Trowbridge, Wilts, preached from Psalm lxii. 19, "And let the whole earth be filled with His glory. Amen and Amen!" In this discourse the preacher set forth, in his usual simple and impressive manner, what he understood to be the object of the Psalmist's ardent desire, and afterwards the grounds on which we may reasonably expect the fulfilment of that desire; applying his remarks, in conclusion, to the circumstances and duties of the professors of Unitarian Christianity, on whom he urged the obligations to increased diligence and *earnestness* in the maintenance of religious truth, and in the great work of social improvement, in consideration of the religious privileges which they enjoy in their truly rational and scriptural faith. The discourse was justly characterized, in the subsequent resolution of thanks, as "very appropriate, encouraging and devotional," and was listened to throughout with marked attention and interest.

At the meeting for business, which immediately followed the morning service, the chair was occupied by Mr. George Harries, of Shrewsbury. The Treasurer's account shewed a balance in hand of £21. 4*s*. 10*d*. The catalogue of books and tracts comprised 127 articles, of which 30 had been introduced this year. Charles Clifford, Esq., and the Rev. Samuel Bache were re-appointed severally to the offices of Treasurer and Secretary, and new subscribers were admitted.

In the afternoon, about thirty ladies and gentlemen dined together, under the able presidency of the Rev. J. R. M'Kee, the respected minister of the congregation. Various addresses were delivered in explanation of the objects and operations of the Society, and in connection with the general progress of Christian truth and freedom; and a warm interest was expressed in this visit of the Society to Shrewsbury—the second ever paid, and this after a lapse of twenty-two years—with hopes that a similar meeting might again be held there after a much shorter interval.

REVISION OF THE AUTHORIZED VERSION.

Mr. Jas. Heywood, M.P., has given notice in the House of Commons that next session he shall move an "Address to Her Majesty, praying that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to appoint a Commission to inquire into the state of the Authorized Version of the Bible, and to prepare a plan for the farther revision of that translation."

OBITUARY.

March 30, at Edgbaston, Mrs. HARRIET GRIFFITHS, eldest daughter of Mr. Joseph Timmins, of Ryland Road, Edgbaston. For many years this lamented lady had taken an active part in the Old Meeting-house schools, where her sound, good sense, her well-stored mind, her constant attendance, and her unwearied efforts for the welfare of those committed to her care, will long be remembered and not readily replaced. She had held Unitarian principles for many years, not from accident or connection, but from inquiry and conviction; but was not content with mere intellectual assent to any views, however rational or just, but brought forth the true fruits of Christianity in an active and useful life. Not long since married, she had lately entered on a mother's duties, joys and cares; but was removed by the great Lord and Master of us all in the prime and vigour of her days. Her handsome face, her beaming eyes, her general intelligence, her vivacity and frankness, made her the charm and centre of a large circle of friends; and though her removal may be mourned by many, her loss is most deeply deplored by those who knew her longest and esteemed her most.

April 3, at Melbourne, Australia, aged 21 years, ROBERT, son of Isaac FELLOWS, Esq., of Wolverhampton.

June 16, at Reading, suddenly, Mr. SAMUEL SLAUGHTER, aged 74.

June 17, at Stockport, Melbourn, the second son of the Rev. JAMES BAYLEY, aged 15 years.

June 24, the Rev. JOHN LAYHE, the much-respected Minister to the Poor in Manchester. For a sketch of the life of this excellent man, we regret that we are obliged to depend entirely, except as far as our personal knowledge goes, on a few old letters and occasional memoranda scattered through his note-books.

He was born, Feb. 22nd, 1804, at Alderwasley (a small place, rather more than two miles from Wirksworth, in Derbyshire), where his father carried on the trade of a blacksmith. We have no means of knowing whether, like Longfellow's Basil,

> "He was a mighty man in the village,
> and honoured of all men,
> For since the birth of time, throughout
> all ages and nations,
> Has the craft of the smith been held in
> repute by the people;"

but, honest, industrious, and tenderly watchful over the morals of their son, both husband and wife appear to have been good specimens of their class, and, in the best sense of the word, respectable. As their letters shew, their own instruction had not been much attended to. In one now before us, the mother remarks, "Your father says nobody shall laugh at his writing letters, but you may laugh at mine and welcome." They were, however, anxious to give their boy such advantages as they could command, and when he was about seven sent him to a school at Wirksworth, where he remained till he was fourteen. He then, by his own choice, was put to his father's business; and having worked at it seven years, like an apprentice, but with more indulgence, he began to receive four shillings a-week, besides board, lodging and clothes. Always fond of books, nearly the whole of what he received was spent upon them; and, though not invariably such as his after-judgment approved, they served to keep his mind actively exercised, and to prevent him from sharing in the lower gratifications to which he was tempted.

When not more than ten or twelve years old, he had been deeply affected by the preaching of the Wesleyan Methodists, and rendered fearfully anxious about his spiritual condition. Under the influence of their views, all the natural gaiety of youth was repressed, and he came to imagine that neither work, nor play, nor anything earthly, was worth a thought, and that it was even sinful to enter into them with any degree of interest or energy. He firmly believed that the Arch-fiend haunted his path continually, and sometimes fancied, with horror, that he heard his voice secretly whispering all manner of blasphemies to his soul, and for a season was driven to the very borders of despair. Though, with his usual fairness, he was disposed at a later period to think that this experience of Methodism, by awakening a sense of the individual and supreme importance of religion, might have been of service to him, he

yet strongly felt that, so long as he was under its dominion, it seriously hindered his improvement, and kept his mind in a state of gloomy bondage. How or when he obtained deliverance from it, we are unable to say; but, having joined the Independents and become noticed for his piety, he was induced to turn his thoughts towards the ministry in connection with that body; and, in his twenty-seventh year, he left home for Rowall, in Northamptonshire, to receive preparatory instruction from the Rev. Walter Scott, with a view to study at Highbury College. At the end of twelve months, during which he seems to have preached frequently, he was admitted into that Institution, then under the care of Dr. Henderson and the Rev. Robt. Halley, and enjoyed its advantages through two sessions and the greater part of a third. With one or two of his fellow-students he formed strong and lasting friendships, which remained unimpaired by those conscientious changes of opinion which are too often suffered to divide and estrange congenial minds and hearts.

On quitting Highbury, in May, 1834, he ministered for two or three months to a congregation at Wells, in Norfolk; and towards the close of the year, for about the same length of time, to one at Sedbergh, not far from Kendal. Thence he removed to Liverpool, and during nearly the whole of 1835 was the minister of Bevington-Hill chapel. We are not aware what led to the termination of this engagement; but at the beginning of the following year he was settled again at Wells, where he had left several warmly attached friends, whose regard he retained unbroken till death.

After spending upwards of six months here usefully and happily, for some reason or other he was transferred to Diss; and at the end of a few weeks, partly, it may be, in consequence of the unsettled state of his opinions, he resolved to abandon the profession of the ministry. With his feelings respecting it, this must have cost him a severe effort, and he had no resources on which to depend.

Arriving in Birmingham, Oct. 8th, 1836, he writes, "Amongst upwards of 150,000 people, here am I alone—not a soul to sympathize with me in anything—not a hand that will stir an inch for me unpaid. After discharging travelling and lodging expenses, I find myself worth £3. 1*s*." Having laid in a stock of steel pens, books and stationery, he set out on the following Monday to dispose of them. The result of his first day's experience in this new line of life was not very encouraging. He had almost wearied himself out with walking—dined about six o'clock in the evening at a farm-house, on a pint of milk and a pennyworth of bread—and "sold goods to the enormous amount of 4*s*. 8*d*.," "on which," he observes, "he might just live if it were all clear gain." The next day the entry in his note-book is, "Sallied out a second time, and met with little better success. A few more such days, or at most weeks, would annihilate me and my trade together. Walked upwards of twenty miles to-day, and saw a beautiful tract of country. On returning, entered into conversation with a collier, who told me that his trade was good, and that he could earn 5*s*. 6*d*. a-day. I was beginning hence to draw unfavourable conclusions about my own destiny, when I had my murmurings appeased by learning that the poor man had a wife and twelve children to provide for. 'The heart knoweth its own bitterness!' But if I go on thus, I shall soon be physically worn out. Even now my old bones ache primely, and my feet are terribly blistered." The third day proving still less propitious, his sales having amounted to only 1*s*. 10½*d*., he was driven to look out for some other mode of recruiting his finances, and spent the next ten days in endeavouring to find employment. All the introductions, however, which he obtained, proved of no use. "It seems in vain," he writes, "to trust in anything, or to hope for anything, but from the blessing of God on one's own exertions. Hitherto, indeed, I have asked for nothing but influence, and even that has been, as yet, unavailing. Now is the time for exemplifying what I not long ago recommended to others from that text, 'Be still, and know that I am God.'"

Among the fellow-students at Highbury with whom he had been most intimate was Mr. John Taylor, who, having left the Independents, was at this time settled with the Unitarian congregation at Kidderminster. To him Mr. Layhe went on a short visit, and though as yet by no means agreeing with him in sentiment, preached for him on the Sunday. The introductions with which Mr. Taylor furnished him to several friends in Birmingham, proved as ineffectual as those which he

had tried before; but he was deeply impressed with the kindness he experienced from Mr. Bache and Mr. Hutton, and the readiness with which they used their influence to promote his interests. In his notes he says, "Mr. and Mrs. H., though previously entire strangers to me, treated me with all the confidence and cordiality due to a brother, and gave me a very favourable idea of their characters. How undesirable that bigotry should be allowed to restrain or estrange one from such as these!"

At length, as hope after hope deceived him, he was reluctantly driven to seek for shelter once more in the old familiar home. Here he received a letter, written in a kind spirit, from his former tutor, Dr. Halley, proposing to him an honourable banishment into the West Indies, or elsewhere, on missionary labour. He at once declined the proposal, alleging as his reasons for doing so, that he did not possess the requisite enthusiasm for the employment, and should not think himself justified in undertaking it merely for the sake of a livelihood; that in regard to the West Indies, judging from the effect of heat upon his constitution, he did not suppose that he could exist a single year in that climate; and that he much doubted whether the control to be exercised over his religious principles by a Missionary Committee, would not be a yoke which he should be unable to bear. Though to one of his independent spirit, the nine weeks now spent under his father's roof, feeling himself a burden on those who had taxed their resources to the full in providing for his education, must no doubt have been very trying, yet this quiet breathing-time afforded him a good opportunity of studying carefully several points of controversial theology, and he was led to discard altogether the doctrine of inborn depravity as unscriptural and erroneous. His prepossessions against Unitarianism, however, still remained strong; and he could not but regard it as wanting in power to excite deep devotional feeling, and incapable of adaptation to all the necessities of human nature.

A letter, which gave him hopes of being appointed to lecture at the Mechanics' Institution, recalled him to Birmingham; but he was doomed again to be disappointed—except in the ready kindness which he had before experienced. At this period, he read with great care several works on the Trinitarian controversy, and a short visit to his friend Taylor gave him an opportunity of clearing up his views on one or two important points; but while his intercourse with Unitarians left the impression that they were more liberal, and most of them more intelligent, than the generality of orthodox Dissenters, he still felt that they manifested, on the whole, a want of zeal and earnestness on behalf of Christian truth; and though he preached in one or two of their pulpits, he was not yet prepared to join them. He now determined to look out for a situation as usher in a school, and perseveringly walked from place to place wherever he heard of a vacancy; but in every instance met with the same chilling result, and experienced to the full that "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick." Still he kept up a brave spirit, and wrote as cheeringly as he could to Miss Cooper, to whom he had become engaged during his residence at Wells. At length, however, his difficulties pressed so hard upon him that, having seen in the Worcester paper an advertisement for an under gardener, he walked twelve miles to inquire about it; but when he found what was required, he felt that he durst not undertake it, and he resolved forthwith to make the best of his way to London. The following entry in his note-book, Feb. 11th, 1837, though much longer than usual, gives so good an idea of his condition and feelings, that we cannot find in our hearts to abridge it. "I have passed a very harassing and anxious week. On Sunday last (the 5th), after hearing a sermon from some Calvinistic preacher, I started for London with only one shilling in my pocket. I first walked to Malvern, eleven miles, and, having there taken a little rest, proceeded sixteen miles onward, and stopped for the night at Tewksbury. Here, on the following morning, I found myself in a very awkward predicament; for, being unable notwithstanding all my efforts to sell any of my stationery (except *5d.* worth) in the town, I had not cash enough to pay my expenses for the evening. On making my case known, however, to the landlady, she was induced to take goods in part payment, and the remainder was made up by all the money I had, except three-halfpence. With this mighty sum, and still being 108 miles from London, I, nothing daunted by past misfortunes, proceeded on my way. Passing through the fine town of Cheltenham, and there spending most pro-

fusely the whole of my three-halfpence, I arrived, much fatigued, at North Leach, where I was obliged to stay for the evening, having walked nearly twenty-five miles. Here again, in spite of a previous half-formed resolution to walk all night, which resolution excessive weariness and lameness dispelled, I was obliged to be somewhat dependent on the innkeeper's good-nature. After I was comfortably located in a good room, I several times rung the bell to ask for the lord of the house; but he not being within, and not returning till the evening advanced, I ordered tea and marched off to bed. In the morning, however, before I took anything, I would see how the good man stood affected, and I found him very manageable and kind. He readily agreed to take pencil-cases and sealing-wax for what I had to pay, and also for breakfast.—This was at the Sherborn Arms: I must return the kindness, if an opportunity should ever offer.—I again set out, and, after walking twenty-seven tedious miles without anything but a *very* slight refreshment, I reached Oxford. Here I was recommended to an eating-house of respectability, where I was accommodated with a bed, and upon acquainting the good woman with my circumstances, she accepted of stationery in payment of my expenses. But I was now quite sick of this mode of travelling, and nearly worn out, and still above fifty miles from London; and I determined to try if I could not by pledging my watch get taken to my destination by the coach. On making this proposal at the office, I was recommended to leave my luggage at the office in London until I could pay my fare, and this being agreed to, I arrived in town on Wednesday (the 8th). In the midst of all these wanderings I have never been left destitute. Never, indeed, in my life did I receive greater kindness from a stranger than I experienced from an old woman at a farm-house near Malvern. Wearied and spent with my toilsome walk, I called here to ask for a little milk; I was invited to walk in, and then commenced a series of kind offices which quite surprised me. 'Would I have the milk boiled?' she asked; and on being told that I would, her next inquiry was, 'Would I like the bread toasted?' 'No.' All this while the old lady was busy making preparations for the coming feast. Meantime she proceeded, 'Would you take a little wine, Sir?' I was very faint, and assented. She filled me a glass, and I asked for a little water to it. I mixed the two. 'Do take some more wine,' said my good hostess; 'you're making it so weak.' Again the kind-hearted creature began, 'I have a little mutton in the house—would you take a bit of that, Sir?' I told her I feared I should not be able to remunerate her for all her kindness. 'O, I must not mention that—I was quite welcome—would I take a little perry to it?' Thus I, an utter stranger, was absolutely feasted at this house, and had nothing to lament but my inability to reward this good woman as she deserved; but I trust her reward will be great in heaven"—to which we devoutly say, Amen!

For the next four years we are not able to trace his course with the distinctness that we have hitherto done. Soon after his arrival in London, he called upon Mr. Aspland, who received him with great kindness, entered with interest into his difficulties, and supplied him with £5 out of the Parliamentary Grant. Although now no longer orthodox, his views were still too unsettled to make him feel that he could satisfactorily undertake the charge of a Unitarian congregation; and he paid a visit of a few weeks to his warm-hearted friends at Wells, who surprised him on his leave-taking by presenting him with £13, which had been raised by private subscription, as a proof of their regard. Having applied unsuccessfully for various situations in and about London, one of which he lost because he could not subscribe to orthodoxy, he at length found rest for a while in the small town of Feltwell, in Norfolk, where, in October, 1837, he opened a school for boys. The income which this yielded seems to have been, at best, little more than £50 a-year; yet, in the following August, he ventured to bring Susannah Cooper to share it with him as his wife, and, through all their subsequent struggles, of one thing we feel certain, that neither of them ever looked back with regret to the day which bound their fates together. When he had been at Feltwood three years, probably finding his means stationary while the claims upon them, from the birth of a child, were increasing, he resolved once more to try his fortune in London, and set up as a dealer in books, to which he soon added tea and coffee, having likewise, as the bills that he issued shew, a printing-press of his own.

While thus honourably striving to

gain a subsistence for himself and those dependent upon him, he was recommended, by his friend Mr. Taylor, as a successor to Mr. Buckland in the arduous office of Minister to the Poor in Manchester; and after a short period of probation, in May, 1841, he entered upon its duties, for which he proved himself excellently qualified by his clear judgment, his strong sense, his deep, unaffected piety, and the practical lessons of wisdom which his varied experience supplied, and wanting only in physical strength and a somewhat more popular mode of address. Though he was now in comparative comfort, and could refer with thankfulness to the freedom which he had gained from the doubts that at one time harassed him, he was called to pass through no little suffering. On several occasions he was laid up with painful as well as debilitating sickness, and he had to follow to the grave in quick succession many that were dear. In 1843, he lost his mother, and eighteen months later, his father; at the beginning of 1849, an infant boy, in whom he was much wrapped up, was taken from him; in June, 1853, after drooping for nearly a year and a half, his beloved wife suddenly sank at his side; and in less than a month he had to stand by the tomb of his old fellow-student and fast friend, John Taylor. Never very strong, these trials evidently left their traces upon him; and in Whitsun week, having accompanied the scholars belonging to the Domestic Mission in their usual railway excursion, and been driven, by the shameful conduct of the guard of the train, to walk a considerable distance through pouring rain, a feverish attack came on, from which he felt he could not recover. On Sunday, June 24th, he had a last interview with the Secretary of the School, and then, after listening to his children's evening prayer, gently fell asleep. The following Friday, when his remains were laid in the Harpurhey Cemetery, the many tearful faces of the poor that mingled with his friends around the grave, gave touching witness to him, and shewed that he had not laboured in vain. Another pleasing proof to the same effect was afforded by the teachers with whom he had been associated, who, as a mode of testifying their respect, subscribed, for them the large sum of, £5. 10*s*., to be expended in the purchase of books that had been his, for presentation to the School Library. And on the evening of July 8th, when a funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. W. Gaskell, the Mission chapel could not contain all who were anxious to attend. Taking for his text, Rev. ii. 10, "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life," and pointing out the various ways in which fidelity may be manifested, the preacher dwelt at some length on the "faithfulness" which his friend had shewn to conviction, in not trying, as many would have done, to stifle the doubts that had arisen in his mind with regard to the soundness of his early opinions, and in cheerfully obeying what seemed to him the voice of truth, though it might call him to many painful sacrifices. He then continued as follows:

"So, in like manner, he was 'faithful' to principles. He was not one who trusted to anything so capricious and uncertain as impulse and feeling, but, as those who were much with him could not fail to perceive, he had made it his study to bring out clearly the requirements of God's will, and apply them truly to his own circumstances. In the work of his ministry it was the same. He did not, as many are disposed to do, choose the actions which were likely to yield immediate results and make a little temporary show. He was anxious to work on well-ascertained grounds; to see that the foundations on which he built were safe. No one can have examined his Reports (so valuable in many respects) without being impressed by the amount of patient, conscientious thought which he gave to eliciting and unfolding the real causes from which spring so much of the misery and wretchedness of the poor, and at the same time remarking the fidelity with which he points out the deficiencies and failures in duty that are chargeable on both rich and poor. He flatters neither class. While doing full justice to the virtues of the latter, and dwelling with warm admiration on the instances of devoted goodness and self-sacrificing love which he meets with amongst them, he shews himself ever ready to expose what seem to him their baseless theories and mistaken views, and anxious to direct them to the true remedies for the evils under which they labour, and make them feel how much they have in their own power to render themselves respectable, comfortable and happy. And, on the other hand, while thanking those of the former who have made him their almoner among the abodes of destitution and suffering, he distinctly warns them that they can

none of them, by such proxy work, shake off their own individual responsibilities in regard to their less fortunate brethren, but that they too must be 'ministers to the poor,' if they would claim to be the followers of him 'who went about doing good.' In these and similar ways on which I need not dwell, he was 'faithful' to principles.

"And so, too, in the more immediate discharge of the duties confided to him. It would be easy for me to expatiate on the good that he did, and the blessings that he conferred, by his conscientious fulfilment of these; easy to speak of the wants he has relieved, the sorrows he has comforted, the ignorance he has enlightened, the despondency he has changed into hope, the sick and dying beds by which he has knelt and ministered consolation. But there are those, I doubt not, amongst you, who can tell of these things from your own experience, to whom any words of mine would sound poor and feeble. One thing, however, there is to which I may refer, as increasing his claim to the praise of fidelity—the difficulties and discouragements incident to the work in which he was engaged were of a kind that was peculiarly trying to him. He was not of that sanguine and enthusiastic temperament which is prone to hope, and sees results through a magnifying medium. He was rather disposed, on the contrary, to form too modest and depreciatory an estimate of the effects of his labour. But still, day after day, and week after week, for the space of fourteen years, not seldom in feebleness and pain, and sometimes oppressed with his own heart-sorrows, he patiently took his way through the sad scenes of poverty and woe, and the yet sadder scenes of crime and guilt, never despairing, still quietly hoping, and firmly believing that no seed of goodness dropped in the field of humanity will God ever suffer to perish, but that, lost though it seem for a time, it must eventually spring up and bear its harvest. And to his calm energy and unrelaxing spirit, is it not a little owing that the Domestic Mission has this fair place of worship. Yes, 'a good and faithful servant' was he.

"And when the final trial came—when laid on the bed from which he felt he was never to rise again—most beautifully and encouragingly was his 'faithfulness' displayed. It seemed as easy to display it in death as it had been in life. There are some who say, that the simple views of Christian truth which he had been led to adopt are insufficient to support the soul at such a season. Would that they could have been present for a little while in the chamber where meekly he waited the call of God; they would never have ventured to say anything like it again. I can wish nothing better for you, nothing better for myself, than that when we come to stand face to face with the last enemy, we may be able to meet it with a spirit as peaceful as his—with the same sure confidence in God's love, and the same steadfast hope in His promises. Nothing could well be more calm and tranquil than the tone in which he spoke of the change that was near—of his 'going home.' And almost heroic was the manner in which, while tenderly feeling and distinctly realizing the sad loss which his removal must needs be to his poor motherless children, his 'faithfulness' shone forth. When he had given what directions concerning them he could, he dismissed every doubt, hushed every fear, and was ready to say, in the spirit of one of old, 'Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him.' He was 'faithful unto death.' The interests which had been most dear to him through life, remained dear to him still. Almost his latest words on earth were given to them. Those words were an earnest exhortation to them who have here the charge of the young, to be true to their work and true to one another. Never, I trust, will those dying words be forgotten, but be sacredly treasured and constantly kept.

"There are others amongst you who, like myself, have long known him, and unfeignedly respected, valued and loved him. See that his 'faithfulness' is not lost upon you. There was nothing, you must feel, which he was more anxious to do than to kindle a living spirit of religion in your hearts. He has shewn you its power; make it your own. He rests from his labours; among the works that follow him, let there be the greater purity, holiness, peace and blessedness of your lives!"

July 2, at his residence, 1, Clapton Square, Clapton, Robert James Pullen Wright, Esq., in the 61st year of his age.

In recording this death, we have to lament the departure of one of those able and upright men who are qualified by natural abilities and earnest zeal in every good cause, to exercise consider-

able influence on society, and who form the chief ornaments of the religious body with which they have connected themselves.

There is little of public interest to relate of the life of Mr. Wright. Engaged from his youth in a most responsible position in connection with one of the principal Insurance Offices in the Metropolis, to whose interests he devoted himself with unwearied assiduity, he had little opportunity of taking an active part in the strife of politics, though eminently adapted, from his talents and public spirit, to take a prominent position among his fellow-countrymen. Educated in connection with the Church of England, he became in his earliest manhood a Unitarian Christian from independent inquiry and conviction. His change of sentiment was mainly due to his admiration for the manly sentiments and energetic preaching of the late Rev. R. Aspland, whose warm friend and active supporter he remained until the close of his ministry. Mr. Wright was an admirable specimen of the style of character formed by the influence of Unitarian Christianity. He was a man of strong and earnest religious feeling, with a hatred of all cant and affectation, a devoted love for Christianity as a revealed religion, and for the principles of Nonconformity as the truest exponent of the great cause of civil and religious liberty. Having formed a most decided conviction of the truth of Christianity in its historical form, and reverring it as the divinely-appointed agent of social order and human happiness, he entertained the strongest aversion for infidelity and for the numerous varieties of rationalistic scepticism prevalent at the present time.

For many years he took a prominent part in the affairs of the Gravel-Pit congregation, and his sound sense and manly energetic character gave great weight to his counsels, and gained for him the confidence and respect of his fellow-worshipers. That respect and confidence were manifested in the various important offices to which he was elected. He occupied for the usual period the honourable post of Treasurer of the congregation, was one of the Managers of the Presbyterian Fund, and one of the body of Presbyterian Deputies elected to watch over the civil and religious liberties of Nonconformists. At the late anniversary meeting of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, he was elected on the Committee for the ensuing year; and he had given an additional proof of his warm interest in the same cause, by taking the chair at the last meeting of the London District Unitarian Society, where the efficient, able and courteous manner in which he performed his duties, at a time when he was suffering from illness, will long be remembered by the friends and supporters of the Society.

If he had strong prejudices and a somewhat too determined will, there were few men who could form stronger attachments or have been a more faithful friend. His sound judgment and manly sense almost invariably led him right, and in the end justified the firmness with which he advocated his own opinions.

In politics he was a stanch Liberal of the old Whig school, and an active supporter of the Liberal candidates for the Tower Hamlets; but while inflexible in his devotion to his own convictions, he lived on terms of the closest intimacy with men diametrically opposed to himself both in political and religious opinion.

Mr. Wright's departure is deeply felt by the writer of this notice, whom he had supported from the commencement of his ministry with almost paternal counsel and friendship, and who, in the closer connection which had recently been formed with him, had hoped to enjoy for many years the advantage of his judicious advice and friendly assistance.

He was cut off from his family circle while looking forward with ardent hope to the sweet retirement of rural life, of which he was always an enthusiastic admirer, in the midst of his benevolent plans for the good of others, in the apparent possession of health and strength, and with the prospect before him of many years of usefulness and happiness. His cheerful disposition and warm heart rendered him the light and ornament of his household; and his bereaved family will ever dwell with melancholy interest on the strong, enduring affection and generous sympathies which bound him to them with even closer connection than the usual ties of relationship. Happily they can avail themselves of the consolations afforded by memory and hope, by "the memory of the just," and a hope extending infinitely beyond the bounds of time and sense.

May they evermore preserve as their most precious inheritance the good

name which he has left behind him, and lay up among the choicest treasures of their hearts the memory of his upright and honourable life!

T. L. M.

July 2, at 271, Holborn, London, Mr. Edward Bailey, in his 57th year.

July 3, at the residence of her second daughter, Mrs. Ely, at Bexley, in Kent, in the 89th year of her age, Mrs. Rachel Rutt, widow of Mr. John Towill Rutt. This lady was the daughter of Mr. Joseph Pattisson, of Maldon, in Essex, the senior member of a family which in the last century acquired wealth and distinction among the orthodox Dissenters of the county. As such, she was brought up in the strictest principles of Calvinism, which she embraced with as much consistency as the sweetness and benignity of her nature permitted. It was, however, her good fortune to be withdrawn from that stern and pitiless creed, by an early union (in 1786) with the eminent Unitarian and political reformer we have already named. Become the consort of so active and vigorous a nature as Mr. Rutt, sufficiently ascertained by his editorship of the Works of Dr. Priestley in twenty volumes, and his share in the production of the Lives of Priestley and Gilbert Wakefield, who were his personal friends, besides numerous other works political and controversial,—a person of her gentle nature would, nearly as a matter of course, submit to the influence of the stronger mind. She is entitled to be noticed here as exhibiting the sufficiency of Unitarian Christianity to supply those consolations of religion which the narrow creed of the ultra-orthodox zealots would, as with the necromancer's wand, confine within the circle of a metaphysical system. The Christian virtues shone in her the brighter when her fortitude was tried by a full portion of those strokes of adversity to which the gentle nature is more especially exposed. She bore with dignified resignation the loss of fortune and (far heavier) the alienation of the affections of some of her own kindred, the loss of children, and a relapse of some of them to the creed of remoter ancestors; one of whom was unable to resist the influence of great kindness conferred on her when in a state of great affliction, and became before her death a member of the Roman Catholic Church. Yet these changes of faith never affected her attachment towards her own child; nor did any of her own children, not even the one who died, having wandered the farthest from the faith she was trained in, ever forget what they owed to their honoured parents.

She bore to her husband six daughters and two sons, of whom four daughters and one son survive her.

July 7, at Dukinfield, in her 68th year, Miss Nancy Lees. The death of this excellent and amiable lady has excited deep regret in a circle, by no means small, of warmly-attached friends. She was buried in the family vault in the ground surrounding the Old chapel, Dukinfield, in which she was a regular and devout worshiper for many years. On the occasion of her funeral, the minister of the congregation bore a feeling testimony to her gentle goodness and consistent worth, and her life of kindness, purity and self-denial; reminding her mourning friends how habitually she lived for others rather than for herself, and how her daily life had been made up of incessant offices of kindness and love. He also bore his testimony to the earnestness of her religious character, and the fearless trust with which she had met death. On the Sunday following her funeral, an unusually large congregation, composed of members of the Gee-Cross congregation and of worshipers of other religious bodies, as well as of those who had been her fellow-worshipers at Dukinfield, evinced the affectionate respect in which the memory of this excellent lady was held.

MARRIAGES.

June 4, at the chapel in Little Portland Street, by Rev. Edward Tagart, Mr. Charles Lasegne, of Great Portland Street, to Miss Elizabeth Jones, of the same place.

June 17, at the Unitarian church, Stockport, by Henry Coppock, Esq., the senior warden, Mr. Robert Gee to Miss Sarah Morley.

June 20, at the Unitarian church, Stockport, by Rev. J. Bayley, Mr. Robert Simister to Mrs. Ann Needham.